



Here in the rich, the honour'd, fam'd and great,
See the false scale of Happiness complete?

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*Here in the rich, the honour'd, fam'd and great,
See the false scale of Happiness complete?*

AL
En
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Printed f

AN
E S S A Y
ON
M A N.
BY

ALEXANDER POPE, Esq.

Enlarged and Improved by the AUTHOR.

Together with his MS. Additions and Variations
as in the Last Edition of his Works.

With the NOTES of

WILLIAM, Lord Bishop of GLOUCESTER,



J. Walker sculp.

L O N D O N :

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A D V E R T I S E M E N T,

B Y T H E E D I T O R.

THE ESSAY ON MAN, to use the Author's own Words, is a *perfect System of Ethics*; in which Definition he included *Religion*: For he was far from that Opinion of the noble Writer of the *Characteristics*, that Morality could long support itself, or have even a real existence, without a reference to the Deity. Hence it is that the *First* Epistle regards Man with respect to the *Lord and Governor of the universe*; as the *Second* with respect to *himself*; the *Third* to *Society*; and the *Fourth*, to *Happiness*. Having therefore formed and finished his *Essay* in this View, he was much mortified whenever he found it considered in any other; or as a part and introduction only to a larger work. As appears from the conclusion of his second Dialogue, intituled M D C C X X X V I I I, where he makes his impertinent adviser say,

*Alas! alas! pray end what you began,
And write, next Winter, more Essays on Man.*

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which a MS. note of his thus explains: "The Author undoubtedly meant this as a "Sarcastm on the ignorance of those friends "of his, who were daily pestering him for "more *Essays on Man*, as not seeing that the "Four *Epistles* he had published entirely com- "pleted that subject." But it must be own- ed, that the Public, by the great and conti- nued demand for his *Essay*, sufficiently freed itself from this imputation of wrong Judgment. And how great and continued that demand has been, appears from the vast variety of pi- rated and imperfect Editions continually ob- truded on the world, ever since the first pub- lication of the Poem; and which no repeated prosecutions of the Offenders have been able totally to restrain.

These were the considerations which have now induced the Proprietor to give one per- fect Edition of the *Essay on Man*, from Mr. *Pope's* last corrections and improvements; that the Public may from henceforth be supplied with this Poem alone, in a manner suitable to its dignity, and to the honest intention of its great Author.

Concerning the UNIVERSAL PRAYER, which concludes the *Essay*, it may be proper to observe, that, some passages in the *Essay*

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having been unjustly suspected of a tendency towards Fate and *Naturalism*, the Author composed that Prayer as the Sum of all, to shew that his System was founded in Free-will, and terminated in Piety: That the first Cause was as well the Lord and Governor as the Creator of the Universe; and that by Submission to his Will (the great principle inforced throughout the *Essay*) was not meant the suffering ourselves to be carried along with a blind determination; but a religious acquiescence, and confidence full of hope and immortality. To give all this the greater weight and reality the Poet chose for his Model the LORD'S PRAYER, which of all others best deserves the title prefixed to his Paraphrase.

The Reader will excuse my adding a word concerning the Frontispiece; which, as it was designed and drawn by Mr. *Pope* himself, would be a kind of Curiosity, had not the excellence of the thought otherwise recommended it. We see it represents the Vanity of human Glory, in the false pursuits after Happiness: where the Ridicule in the Curtain cobweb, the Death's head crowned with laurel, and the several Inscriptions, have all the force and beauty of one of his best-written Satires: Nor is there less expression in the bearded Phi-

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Philosopher sitting by a fountain running to waste, and blowing up bubbles with a straw from a small portion of water taken out of it, in a dirty dish; admirably representing the vain business of School-Philosophy, that, with a little artificial logic, sits inventing airy arguments in support of false science, while the human Understanding at large is suffered to lie waste and uncultivated.

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HAVING propos'd to write some pieces on Human Life and Manners, such as (to use my Lord Bacon's expression) *come home to Men's Business and Bosoms*, I thought it more satisfactory to begin with considering *Man* in the abstract, his *Nature* and his *State*: since, to prove any moral duty, to enforce any moral precept, or to examine the perfection or imperfection of any creature whatsoever, it is necessary first to know what *condition* and *relation* it is placed in, and what is the proper *end* and *purpose* of its *being*.

The science of Human Nature is, like all other sciences, reduced to a *few clear points*: There are not *many certain truths* in this world. It is therefore in the anatomy of the Mind as in that of the Body: more good will accrue to mankind by attending to the large, open, and perceptible parts, than by studying too much such finer nerves and vessels, the conformations and uses of which will for ever escape our observation. The *disputes* are all upon these last, and I will venture to say, they have less sharpened the *wits* than the *hearts* of men against each other, and have diminished the practice more than advanced the theory of Morality. If I could flatter myself that this Essay has any merit, it is in steering betwixt the extremes of doctrines seemingly opposite; in passing over terms utterly unintelligible; and in forming a *temperate*, yet not *inconsistent*; and a *short*, yet not *imperfect* system of Ethics.

This I might have done in prose; but I chose verse, and even rhyme, for two reasons: The one will appear obvious; that principles, maxims, or precepts so written, both strike the reader more strongly at first, and are more easily retained by him afterwards. The other may seem odd, but it is true; I found I could express them more *shortly* this way than in prose itself, and nothing is truer than that much of the *force*, as well as *grace*, of arguments or instructions depends on their *conciseness*. I was unable to treat this part of my subject more in *detail*, without becoming dry and tedious; or more *poetically*, without sacrificing perspicuity to ornament, without wandering from the precision, or breaking the chain of reasoning. If any man can unite all these, without diminution of any of them, I freely confess he will compass a thing above my capacity.

What is now published, is only to be considered as a *general map* of MAN, marking out no more than the *greater parts*, their *extent*, their *limits*, and their *connexion*, but leaving the particular to be more fully delineated in the charts which are to follow. Consequently these Epistles in their progress (if I make any progress) will be less dry, and more susceptible of poetical ornament. I am here only opening the *fountains*, and clearing the passage: to deduce the *rivers*, to follow them in their course, and to observe their effects, would be a task more agreeable.

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E P I S T L E I.

*Of the Nature and State of Man, with respect
to the UNIVERSE.*

*O*F Man in the abstract— That we can judge only
with regard to our own system, being ignorant
of the relations of systems and things, ver. 17, &c.
That Man is not to be deemed imperfect, but a Being
suited to his place and rank in the creation, agreeable
to the general Order of Things, and conformable to
Ends and Relations to him unknown, ver. 33, &c.
That it is partly upon his Ignorance of future events,
and partly upon the Hope of a future state, that all
his Happiness in the present depends, ver. 77, &c.

The pride of aiming at more Knowledge, and pretending to more Perfection, the cause of Man's error and misery. The impiety of putting himself in the place of God, and judging of the fitness or unfitness, perfection or imperfection, justice or injustice of his dispensations, ver. 113, &c.

The absurdity of conceiving himself the final cause of the creation, or expecting that perfection in the moral world, which is not in the natural, ver. 137, &c.

The unreasonableness of his complaints against Providence, while, on the one hand, he demands the Perfections of the Angels; and, on the other, the bodily qualifications of the Brutes; though to possess any of the sensitive faculties in a higher degree, would render him miserable, ver. 173, &c.

That throughout the whole visible world, an universal order and gradation in the sensual and mental faculties is observed, which causes a subordination of creature to creature, and of all creatures to Man. The gradation of sense, instinct, thought, reflection, reason; that Reason alone counterwails all the other faculties, ver. 207.

How much farther this order and subordination of living creatures may extend, above and below us; were any part of which broken, not that part only, but the whole connected creation must be destroyed, ver. 233.

- The extravagance, madness and pride of such a de-
fire,* ver. 259.
*The consequence of all, the absolute submission due to
Providence, both as to our present and future state,*
v. 281, &c. to the end.
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EPISTLE II.

*Of the Nature and State of Man, with respect
to Himself, as an Individual.*

- T**HE *business of Man not to pry into God, but to
study himself. His Middle Nature; his Powers
and Frailties,* ver. 1, &c.
The Limits of his Capacity, ver. 19, &c.
*The two Principles of Man, Self-love, and Reason,
both necessary,* ver. 53, &c.
Self-love the stronger, and why, ver. 67, &c.
Their end the same, ver. 81, &c.
THE PASSIONS, and their use, ver. 93, &c.
The predominant Passion, and its force, ver. 131, &c.
to 160.
Its necessity, in directing Men to different purposes,
ver. 165, &c.
*Its providential Use, in fixing our Principle, and as-
certaining our Virtue,* ver. 175.

- Virtue and Vice joined in our mixed Nature; the limits near, yet the things separate and evident; What is the office of Reason,* ver. 195, &c.
How odious Vice in itself, and how we deceive ourselves into it, ver. 217, &c.
That, however, the Ends of Providence and general Good are answered in our Passions and Imperfections, ver. 219, &c.
How usefully these are distributed to all Orders of Men, ver. 241, &c.
How useful they are to Society, ver. 249, &c.
And to Individuals, ver. 263.
In every state, and every age of life, ver. 271, &c.

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EPISTLE III.

*Of the Nature and State of Man with respect
to SOCIETY.*

T <i>HE whole Universe one system of Society,</i>	ver. 7, &c.
<i>Nothing made wholly for itself, nor yet wholly for another,</i>	ver. 27.
<i>The happiness of Animals mutual,</i>	ver. 49.
<i>Reason or Instinct operate alike to the good of each Individual,</i>	ver. 79.
<i>Reason or Instinct operate also to Society in all Ani- mals,</i>	ver. 109.
<i>How far Society carried by Instinct,</i>	ver. 115.
<i>How much farther by Reason,</i>	ver. 131.
<i>Of that which is called the State of Nature,</i>	ver. 147.
<i>Reason instructed by Instinct in the invention of Arts,</i>	ver. 170.
<i>And in the Forms of Society,</i>	ver. 179.
<i>Origin of Political Societies,</i>	ver. 199.
<i>Origin of Monarchy,</i>	ver. 210.
<i>Patriarchal Government,</i>	ver. 216.

- Origin of true Religion and Government, from the same Principle of Love,* ver. 235, &c.
- Origin of Superstition and Tyranny, from the same Principle of Fear,* ver. 237, &c.
- The influence of Self-love operating to the social and public Good,* ver. 269.
- Restoration of true Religion and Government on their first principle,* ver. 283.
- Mixt Government,* ver. 289.
- Various forms of each, and the true end of all,* ver. 303, &c.
-

EPISTLE IV.

Of the Nature and State of Man with respect to HAPPINESS.

- F**ALSE Notions of Happiness, Philosophical and Popular, answered, ver. 19 to 26.
- It is the end of all Men, and attainable by all,* ver. 29.
- God intends Happiness to be equal; and to be so, it must be social, since all particular Happiness depends on general, and since he governs by general, not particular Laws,* ver. 35.

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As it is necessary for Order, and the peace and welfare of Society, that external goods should be unequal, Happiness is not made to consist in these,
ver. 49.

But, notwithstanding that inequality, the balance of Happiness among Mankind is kept even by Providence, by the two Passions of Hope and Fear, ver. 67.

What the Happiness of Individuals is, as far as is consistent with the constitution of this world; and that the good man has here the Advantage, ver. 77.

The error of imputing to Virtue what are only the calamities of Nature, or of Fortune, ver. 93.

The folly of expecting that God should alter his general Laws in favour of particulars, ver. 121.

That we are not judges who are good; but that, whoever they are, they must be happiest, ver. 133, &c.

That external goods are not the proper rewards, but often inconsistent with or destructive of Virtue,
ver. 169.

That even these can make no Man happy without Virtue:

Instanced in Riches, ver. 185.

Honours, ver. 193.

Nobility, ver. 205.

Greatness, ver. 217.

Fame, ver. 237.

Superior Talents, ver. 259.

B

*With pictures of human Infelicity in Men possess'd of
them all,* ver. 277, &c.

*That Virtue only constitutes a Happiness, whose ob-
ject is universal, and whose prospect eternal,*
ver. 329, &c.

*That the perfection of Virtue and Happiness consists
in a conformity to the ORDER of PROVIDENCE
here, and a Resignation to it here and hereafter,*
ver. 327, &c.

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ESSAY on MAN.

EPISTLE I.

AWAKE, my ST. JOHN! leave all meaner things
 To low ambition, and the pride of Kings.
 Let us (since Life can little more supply
 Than just to look about us and to die)
 Expatiate free o'er all this scene of Man; 5
 A mighty maze! but not without a plan;

NOTES.

VER. 1. *Awake, my ST. JOHN!*] The opening of this poem, in fifteen lines, is taken up in giving an account of the Subject; which, agreeable to the title, is an ESSAY on MAN, or a Philosophical Enquiry into his *Nature and End, his Passions and Pursuits.*

The Exordium relates to the whole work, of which the *Essay on Man* was only the first book. The 6th, 7th, and 8th lines allude to the subject of this *Essay*, viz. the general Order and Design of Providence; the Constitution of the human Mind; the origin, use, and end of the

A Wild, where weeds and flow'rs promiscuous shoot;
Or Garden, tempting with forbidden Fruit.

NOTES.

Passions and Affections, both selfish and social; and the wrong pursuits of Power, Pleasure, and Happiness. The 10th, 11th, 12th, &c. have relation to the subjects of the books intended to follow, *viz.* the Characters and Capacities of Men, and the Limits of Science, which once transgressed, ignorance begins, and error follows. The 13th and 14th, to the Knowledge of Mankind, and the various Manners of the age. Next, in line 16, he tells us with what design he wrote, *viz.*

To vindicate the ways of God to Man.

The Men he writes against, he frequently informs us, are such as weigh their opinion against Providence (ver. 114.) such as cry, if man's unhappy, God's unjust (ver. 118.) or such as fall into the notion, that Vice and Virtue there is none at all, (Ep. ii. ver. 212.) This occasions the poet to divide his vindication of the ways of God into two parts. In the first of which he gives direct answers to those objections which libertine Men, on a view of the disorders arising from the perversity of the human will, have intended against Providence. And in the second, he obviates all those objections, by a true delineation of human Nature; or a general, but exact, map of Man. The first epistle is employed in the management of the first part of this dispute; and the three following in the discussion of the second. So that this whole book constitutes a complete *Essay on Man*, written for the best purpose, to vindicate the ways of God.

VER. 7, 8. *A Wild,—or Garden,*] The *Wild* relates to the human passions, productive (as he explains in the second epistle) both of good and evil. The *Garden*, to human reason, so often tempting us to transgress the bounds God has set to it, and wander in fruitless enquiries.

EP. I. ESSAY ON MAN. 3

Together let us beat this ample field,
Try what the open, what the covert yield ; 10
The latent tracts, the giddy heights, explore
Of all who blindly creep, or fightless soar ;
Eye Nature's walks, shoot Folly as it flies,
And catch the Manners living as they rise ;
Laugh where we must, be candid where we can ; 15
But vindicate the ways of God to Man.

I. Say first, of God above, or Man below,
What can we reason, but from what we know ?
Of Man, what see we but his station here,
From which to reason, or to which refer ? 20

NOTES.

VER. 12. *Of all who blindly creep, &c.] i. e.* Those who only follow the blind guidance of their Passions ; or those who leave behind them common sense and sober reason, in their high flights through the regions of Metaphysics. Both which follies are exposed in the fourth epistle, where the popular and philosophical errors concerning Happiness are detected. The figure is taken from animal Life.

VER. 15. *Laugh where we must, &c.]* Intimating that human follies are so strangely absurd, that it is not in the power of the most *compassionate*, on some occasions, to restrain their mirth : And that human *crimes* are so flagitious, that the most *candid* have seldom an opportunity, on this subject, to exercise their virtue.

VER. 19, 20. *Of Man, what see we but his station here, From which to reason, or to which refer ?]* the sense is, *We see nothing of Man, but as he stands at present in his station here: From which station, all our reasonings on his nature and end must be drawn; and to this station they*

Thro' worlds unnumber'd tho' the God be known,
'Tis ours to trace him only in our own.

He, who through vast immensity can pierce,
See worlds on worlds compose one universe,
Observe how system into system runs, 25

What other planets circle other suns,
What vary'd Being peoples ev'ry star,
May tell why Heav'n has made us as we are.

But of this frame, the bearings, and the ties,
The strong connexions, nice dependencies, 30
Gradations just, has thy pervading soul

Look'd thro' ? or can a part contain the whole ?

Is the great chain, that draws all to agree,
And drawn supports, upheld by God, or thee ?

NOTES.

must be all refered. The consequence is, all our reasonings on his *nature* and *end* must needs be very imperfect.

VER. 21. *Thro' worlds unnumber'd, &c.*] Hunc cognoscimus solummodo per Proprietates suas & Attribute, & per sapientissimas & optimas rerum structuras & causas finales. *Newtoni Princ. Schol. gen. sub fin.*

VER. 30. *The strong connexions, nice dependencies,*] The thought is very noble, and expressed with great philosophic beauty and exactness. The system of the Universe is a combination of *natural* and *moral* Fitnesses, as the human system is, of *body* and *spirit*. By the *strong connexions*, therefore, the Poet alludes to the *natural* part; and by the *nice dependencies* to the *moral*. For the *Essay on man* is not a system of *Naturalism*, but of *natural Religion*. Hence it is, that, where he supposes disorders may tend to some greater

EP. I. ESSAY ON MAN. 5

II. Presumptuous Man! the reason wouldst thou find,
 Why form'd so weak, so little, and so blind? 36
 First, if thou canst, the harder reason guess,
 Why form'd no weaker, blinder, and no less.
 Ask of thy mother earth, why oaks are made
 Taller or stronger than the weeds they shade? 40
 Or ask of yonder argent fields above,
 Why Jove's Satellites are less than Jove?
 Of Systems possible, if 'tis confess'd
 That Wisdom infinite must form the best,
 Where all must full or not coherent be, 45
 And all that rises, rise in due degree;

NOTES.

good in the *natural* world, he supposes they may tend likewise to some greater good in the *moral*, as appears from these sublime images in the following lines,

If plagues or earthquakes break not Heav'n's design,
 Why then a Borgia, or a Catiline?
 Who knows, but He, whose hand the lightning forms,
 Who heaves old Ocean, and who wings the storms;
 Pours fierce ambition in a Cæsar's mind,
 Or turns young Ammon loose to scourge Mankind?

VER. 35 to 42.] In these lines the poet has joined the beauty of argumentation to the sublimity of thought; where the similar instances, proposed for his adversaries examination, shew as well the *absurdity* of their complaints against Order, as the *fruitlessness* of their enquiries into the arcana of the Godhead.

Then, in the scale of reas'ning life, 'tis plain,
 There must be, somewhere, such a rank as Man:
 And all the question (wrangle e'er so long)
 Is only this, If God has plac'd him wrong? 50

Respecting Man, whatever wrong we call,
 May, must be right, as relative to all.
 In human works, though labour'd on with pain,
 A thousand movements scarce one purpose gain;
 In God's, one single can its end produce; 55
 Yet serves to second too some other use.

So Man, who here seems principal alone,
 Perhaps acts second to some sphere unknown,
 Touches some wheel, or verges to some goal;
 'Tis but a part we see, and not a whole. 60

When the proud steed shall know why man restrains
 His fiery course, or drives him o'er the plains;
 When the dull Ox, why now he breaks the clod,
 Is now a victim, and now Ægypt's God:
 Then shall Man's pride and dulness comprehend 65
 His actions', passions', being's, use and end;

VARIATIONS.

In the former editions, ver. 64.

Now wears a garland, an Ægyptian God:
 altered as above for the reason given in the note.

NOTES.

VER. 64.—*Ægypt's God*] Called so, because the God
Apis was worshipped universally over the whole land.

EP. I. ESSAY ON MAN. 7

Why doing, suff'ring, check'd, impell'd; and why
This hour a slave, the next a deity.

Then say not Man's imperfect, Heav'n in fault;
Say rather, Man's as perfect as he ought: 70

His knowledge measur'd to his state and place;
His time a moment, and a point his space.

If to be perfect in a certain sphere,

What matter, soon or late, or here or there?

The blest to-day is as completely so, 75

As who began a thousand years ago.

III. Heav'n from all creatures hides the book of
Fate,

All but the page prescrib'd, their present state:

From brutes what men, from men what spirits know:

Or who could suffer Being here below? 80

The lamb thy riot dooms to bleed to-day,

Had he thy reason, would he skip and play?

Pleas'd to the last, he crops the flow'ry food,

And licks the hand just rais'd to shed his blood.

Oh blindness to the future! kindly giv'n, 85

That each may fill the circle mark'd by Heav'n:

VARIATIONS.

After ver. 68. the following lines in the first Ed.

If to be perfect in a certain sphere,

What matters soon or late, or here or there?

The blest to-day is as completely so,

As who began ten thousand years ago.

8 ESSAY ON MAN. EP. I.

Who sees with equal eye, as God of all,
 A hero perish, or a sparrow fall,
 Atoms or systems into ruin hurl'd,
 And now a bubble burst, and now a world. 90

Hope humbly then; with trembling pinions soar;
 Wait the great teacher Death; and God adore.

VARIATIONS.

After ver. 88. in the MS.

No great, no little; 'tis as much decreed
 That Virgil's Gnat should die, as Cæsar bleed.

NOTES.

VER. 87. *Who sees with equal eye, &c.*] Matth. x. 29.

VER. 91. *Hope humbly then;*] The *Hope* of a happy futurity was implanted in the human breast by God himself for this very purpose, as an earnest of that Bliss, which always flying from us here, is reserved for the good Man hereafter. The reason why the poet chuses to insist on this proof of a future state, in preference to others, is in order to give his system (which is founded in a sublime and improved *Platonism*) the greater grace of uniformity. For HOPE was *Plato's* peculiar argument for a future state; and the words here employed—*the soul uneasy, &c.* his peculiar expression. The poet in this place, therefore, says in express terms, that *God gave us hope to supply that future bliss, which he at present keeps hid from us.* In his second epistle, ver. 274, he goes still further, and says, this HOPE quits us not even at Death, when every thing mortal drops from us:

Hope travels thro', nor quits us when we die.

And, in the fourth epistle, he shews how the same HOPE is a *proof* of a future state, from the consideration of God's

What future blifs, he gives not thee to know,
But gives that Hope to be thy blessing now.

VARIATIONS.

In the first Fol. and Quarto,

What blifs *above* he gives not thee to know,
But gives that Hope to be thy blifs *below*.

NOTES.

giving man no appetite in vain, or what he did not intend should be satisfied;

He sees why Nature plants in Man alone
Hope of known blifs, and Faith in blifs unknown:
(Nature, whose dictates to no other kind
Are giv'n in vain, but what they seek they find.)

It is only for the *good man*, he tells us, that *Hope* leads from goal to goal, &c. It would be strange indeed then, if it should prove a delusion.

VER. 93. *What future blifs, &c.*] It hath been objected, that the *System of the best* weakens the other natural arguments for a future state; because, if the evils which good Men suffer promote the benefit of the whole, then every thing is here in order; and nothing amiss that wants to be set right: Nor has the good man any reason to expect amends, when the evils he suffered had such a tendency. To this it may be replied, 1. That the poet tells us. (Ep. iv. ver. 361.) That *God loves from whole to parts*. 2. That the *system of the best* is so far from weakening those natural arguments, that it strengthens and supports them. For if those evils, to which good men are subject, be mere Disorders, without tendency to the greater good of the whole; then, though we must indeed conclude that they will hereafter be set right, yet this view of things, representing God as suffering disorders for no other end than to set them right. gives us a very low idea of the divine wis-

Hope springs eternal in the human breast : 95
 Man never Is, but always To be blest :
 The soul, uneasy and confin'd, from home,
 Rests and expatiates in a life to come.

NOTES.

dom. But if those evils (according to the *system of the best*) contribute to the greater perfection of the whole; such a reason may be then given for their permission, as supports our idea of divine wisdom to the highest religious purposes. Then, as to the good man's *hopes* of a retribution, those still remain in their original force: For our idea of God's justice, and how far that justice is engaged to a retribution, is exactly and invariably the same on either hypothesis. For though the *system of the best* supposes that the *evils themselves* will be fully compensated by the good they produce to the *whole*, yet this is so far from supposing that *particulars* shall suffer for a *general good*, that it is essential to *this system* to conclude, that, at the completion of things, when the whole is carried to the state of utmost perfection, *particular and universal good* shall coincide.

Such is the world's great harmony, that springs
 From Order, Union, full Consent of things :
 Where *small and great*, where *weak and mighty*, made
 To *serve*, not *suffer* ; *strengthen*, not *invade*, &c.

EP. iii. ver. 295.

Which coincidence can never be, without a retribution to good men for the evils they suffered here below.

VER. 97.—*from home.*] The construction is, “ The soul being from home (confined and uneasy) expatiates,” &c. by which words it was the Poet's purpose to teach, that the present life is only a state of probation for another, more suitable to the essence of the soul, and to the free exercise of its qualities.

Lo, the poor Indian! whose untutor'd mind
 Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind; 100
 His soul, proud science never taught to stray
 Far as the solar walk, or milky way;
 Yet simple Nature to his hope has giv'n
 Behind the cloud-topt hill, an humbler heav'n;
 Some safer world in depth of woods embrac'd, 105
 Some happier island in the watry waste,
 Where slaves once more their native land behold,
 No fiends torment, no Christians thirst for gold.
 To Be, contents his natural desire,
 He asks no Angel's wing, no Seraph's fire; 110

VARIATIONS.

After ver. 108. in the first Ed.

But does he say the Maker is not good,
 'Till he's exalted to what state he wou'd:
 Himself alone high Heav'n's peculiar care,
 Alone made happy when he will, and where?

NOTES.

VER. 99. *Lo, the poor Indian! &c.*] The poet, as we said, having bid Man comfort himself with expectation of future happiness, having shewn him that this HOPE is an earnest of it, and put in one very necessary caution,

Hope *humbly* then, with *trembling* pinions soar;
 provoked at those miscreants whom he afterwards (EP. iii. ver. 263.) describes as building *Hell on spite, and Heaven on pride*, he upbraids them (from ver. 99 to 112.) with the example of the poor Indian, to whom also nature hath given

But thinks, admitted to that equal sky,
 His faithful dog shall bear him company.

IV. Go, wiser thou! and, in thy scale of sense,
 Weigh thy Opinion against Providence;
 Call imperfection what thou fancy'st such, 115
 Say, Here he gives too little, there too much;
 Destroy all creatures for thy sport or gust,
 Yet cry, If Man's unhappy, God's unjust;
 If Man alone ingross not Heav'n's high care,
 Alone made perfect here, immortal there: 120
 Snatch from his hand the balance and the rod,
 Re-judge his justice, be the God of God.
 In Pride, in reas'ning Pride, our error lies;
 All quit their sphere, and rush into the skies.

NOTES.

this *common HOPE of Mankind*: But though his untutored mind had betrayed him into many childish fancies concerning the nature of that future state, yet he is so far from excluding any part of his own species (a vice which could proceed only from the pride of science) that he humanely admits even his *faithful dog to bear him company*.

VER. 123. *In Pride, &c.*] Arnobius has passed the same censure on these very follies, which he supposes to arise from the cause here assigned.—“Nihil est quod nos fallat, nihil quod nobis polliceatur spes cassas (id quod nobis à quibusdam dicitur viris immoderata sui opinione sublati) animas immortales esse, Deo rerum ac principi, gradu proximas dignitatis, genitor illo ac patre prolatas, divinas, sapientes, doctas, neque ulla corporis attrectatione contiguas.” *Adversus gentes*.

EP. I. ESSAY ON MAN: 13

Pride still is aiming at the blest abodes, 125

Men would be Angels, Angels would be Gods.

Aspiring to be Gods, if Angels fell,

Aspiring to be Angels, Men rebel :

And who but wishes to invert the laws

Of ORDER, sins against th' Eternal Cause. 130

V. Ask for what end the heav'nly bodies shine,
Earth for whose use ? Pride answers, "'Tis for mine:

" For me kind Nature wakes her genial pow'r,

" Suckles each herb, and spreads out ev'ry flow'r ;

" Annual for me, the grape, the rose renew 135

" The juice nectareous, and the balmy dew ;

" For me, the mine a thousand treasures brings ;

" For me, health gushes from a thousand springs ;

NOTES.

VER. 131. *Ask for what end the heav'nly bodies shine, &c.*] The ridicule of imagining the greater portions of the material system to be solely for the use of man, Philosophy has sufficiently exposed : and Common sense, as the poet observes, instructs us to know that our fellow-creatures, placed by Providence the joint-inhabitants of this globe, are designed by Providence to be joint-sharers with us of its blessings.

VER. 13. *Ask for what end, &c.*] If there be any fault in these lines, it is not in the general sentiment, but a want of exactness in expressing it.—It is the highest absurdity to think that *Earth is man's footstool, his canopy the skies*, and the *heavenly bodies* lighted up principally for his use ; yet not so, to suppose fruits and minerals given for this end.

" Seas roll to waft me, suns to light me rise ;
 " My foot-stool earth, my canopy the skies." 140
 But errs not Nature from this gracious end,
 From burning suns when livid deaths descend,
 When earthquakes swallow, or when tempests sweep
 Towns to one grave, whole nations to the deep ?
 " No, ('tis reply'd) the first Almighty Cause 145
 " Acts not by partial, but by gen'ral laws ;
 " Th'exceptions few ; some change since all began :
 " And what created perfect ?"—Why then Man ?
 If the great end be human happiness,
 Then Nature deviates ; and can Man do less ? 150
 As much that end a constant course requires
 Of show'rs and sunshine, as of Man's desires ;
 As much eternal springs and cloudless skies,
 As men for ever temp'rate, calm, and wise.
 If plagues or earthquakes break not Heav'n's design,
 Why then a Borgia, or a Catiline ? 156

NOTES.

VER. 150. *Then Nature deviates, &c.*] " While comets
 " move in very eccentric orbs, in all manner of posi-
 " tions, blind Fate could never make all the planets
 " move one and the same way in orbs concentric ; some
 " inconsiderable irregularities excepted, which may have
 " risen from the mutual actions of comets and planets
 " upon one another, and which will be apt to increase, till
 " this system wants a reformation." *Sir Isaac Newton's*
Optics, Quæst. ult.

VER. 155. *If plagues, &c.*] What hath misled some

Who knows but he, whose hand the light'ning forms,
 Who heaves old Ocean, and who wings the storms;
 Pours fierce Ambition in a Cæsar's mind, 159
 Or turns young Ammon loose to scourge mankind?

NOTES.

persons in this passage, is their supposing the comparison to be between the effects of *two things in this sublunary world*; when not only the elegancy, but the justness of it, consists in its being between the effects of a thing in the *universe at large*, and the familiar and known effects of one in *this sublunary world*. For the position enforced in these lines is this, that *partial evil tends to the good of the whole*.

Respecting Man, whatever wrong we call,
 May, must be right, as relative to all. ver. 51.

How does the Poet enforce it? if you will believe these persons, in illustrating the effects of partial moral evil in a particular system, by that of partial natural evil in the *same system*, and so he leaves his *position* in the lurch. But the Poet reasons at another rate: The way to prove this point, he knew, was to illustrate the effect of partial moral evil in the *universe*, by partial natural evil in a *particular system*. Whether partial moral evil tend to the good of the universe, being a question which, by reason of our ignorance of *many parts* of that universe, we cannot decide, but from known effects; the rules of argument require that it be proved by *analogy, i. e.* setting it by, and comparing it with, a thing *certain*; and it is a thing *certain* that partial natural evil tends to the good of our *particular system*.

VER. 157. *Who knows but he, &c.*] The sublimity with which the great Author of Nature is here characterised, is but the second beauty of this fine passage. The greatest is the making the very dispensation objected to, the periphrasis of his Title.

From pride, from pride, our very reas'ning springs;
 Account for moral, as for nat'ral things :
 Why charge we Heav'n in those, in these acquit
 In both, to reason right is to submit.

Better for Us, perhaps, it might appear, 165
 Were there all harmony, all virtue here ;

NOTES.

VER. 165. *Better for Us, &c.*] It might, says he, perhaps, appear better to us, that there were nothing in this world but *peace* and *virtue* ;

That never air or ocean felt the wind ;
 That never passion discompos'd the mind.

But then consider, that as our *natural system* is supported by the strife of its elementary particles ; so is our *intellectual system* by the conflict of our Passions, which are the elements of human action.

In a word, as without the benefit of tempestuous winds both air and ocean would stagnate, corrupt, and spread universal contagion throughout all the ranks of animals that inhabit, or are supported by them ; so, without the benefit of the Passions, such virtue as was merely the effect of the absence of those Passions would be a lifeless calm, a stoical Apathy.

Contracted all, retiring to the breast :

But health of mind is *Exercise*, not *Rest*. Ep. ii. ver. 10.

Therefore, instead of regarding the conflict of the elements, and the passions of the mind as disorders, you ought to consider them as part of the *general order* of Providence : And that they are so, appears from their always preserving the same unvaried course, throughout all ages from the creation to the present time :

The *gen'ral order*, since the Whole began,
 Is kept in *Nature*, and is kept in *Man*.

That never air or ocean felt the wind;
 That never passion discompos'd the mind.
 But ALL subsists by elemental strife;
 And passions are the elements of life. 170

The gen'ral ORDER, since the Whole began,
 Is kept in Nature, and is kept in Man.

VI. What would this Man? Now upward will
 he soar,

And little less than Angel, would be more?
 Now looking downwards, just as griev'd appears 175
 To want the strength of bulls, the fur of bears.

NOTES.

We see, therefore, it would be doing great injustice to our author to suspect that he intended, by this, to give any encouragement to vice. His system, as all his Ethic Epistles shew, is this: That the *passions*, for the reasons given above, are necessary to the support of Virtue: That, indeed, the Passions in excess produce Vice, which is, in its own Nature, the greatest of all Evils, and comes into the world from the abuse of Man's free-will; but that God, in his infinite wisdom and goodness, deviously turns the natural bias of its malignity to the advancement of human happiness, and makes it productive of general Good:

TH' ETERNAL ART EDUCES GOOD FROM ILL.

EP. ii. ver. 175.

VER. 169. *But all subsists, &c.*] See this subject extended in EP. ii. from ver. 90 to 112, 155, &c.

VER. 174. *And little less than Angel, &c.*] *Thou hast made him a little lower than the Angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour, Psalm viii. 9.*

Made for his use, all creatures if he call,
 Say what their use, had he the pow'rs of all:
 Nature to these, without profusion kind,
 The proper organs, proper pow'rs assign'd; 180
 Each seeming want compensated of course,
 Here with degrees of swiftness, there of force;
 All in exact proportion to the state;
 Nothing to add, and nothing to abate.
 Each beast, each insect, happy in its own: 185
 Is Heav'n unkind to Man, and Man alone?
 Shall he alone, whom rational we call,
 Be pleas'd with nothing, if not bless'd with all?
 The bliss of Man (could Pride that blessing find)
 Is not to act or think beyond mankind; 190
 No pow'rs of body or of soul to share,
 But what his nature and his state can bear.
 Why has not Man a microscopic eye?
 For this plain reason, Man is not a Fly.
 Say what the use, were finer optics giv'n, 195
 T' inspect a mite, not comprehend the heav'n?
 Or touch, if tremblingly alive all o'er,
 To smart and agonize at ev'ry pore?

NOTES.

VER. 182. *Here with degrees of swiftness, &c.*] It is a certain axiom in the anatomy of creatures, that in proportion as they are formed for strength, their swiftness is lessened; or, as they are formed for swiftness, their strength is abated. P.

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VER. 213

EP. I. ESSAY ON MAN. 19

Or quick effluvia darting thro' the brain,
Die of a rose in aromatic pain? 200

If Nature thunder'd in his op'ning ears,
And stunn'd him with the music of the spheres,
How would he wish that Heav'n had left him still
The whisp'ring Zephyr, and the purling rill?
Who finds not Providence all good and wise, 205
Alike in what it gives, and what denies?

VII. Far as Creation's ample range extends,
The scale of sensual, mental pow'rs ascends:
Mark how it mounts, to Man's imperial race,
From the green myriads in the peopled grass: 210
What modes of fight betwixt each wide extreme,
The mole's dim curtain, and the lynx's beam:
Of smell, the headlong lioness between,
And hound sagacious on the tainted green:

NOTES.

VER. 202. *Stunn'd him with the music of the spheres.*] This instance is poetical, and even sublime, but misplaced. He is arguing philosophically in a case that required him to employ the *real* objects of sense only; and, what is worse, he speaks of this as a *real* object.—If NATURE thunder'd, &c. The case is different where (in ver. 253.) he speaks of the motion of the heavenly bodies under the sublime Imagery of *ruling Angels*: For whether there be *ruling Angels* or no, there is *real motion*, which was all his argument wanted; but if there be no *music of the spheres*, there was no real sound, which his argument was obliged to find.

VER. 213. *The headlong lioness.*] The manner of the lions

Of hearing, from the life that fills the flood, 215
 To that which warbles thro' the vernal wood?
 The spider's touch, how exquisitely fine!
 Feels at each thread, and lives along the line:
 In the nice bee, what sence so subtly true
 From pois'nous herbs extracts the healing dew? 220
 How Instinct varies in the grov'ling swine,
 Compar'd, half-reas'ning elephant, with thine!
 'Twixt that, and Reason, what a nice barrier?
 For ever sep'rate, yet for ever near!
 Remembrance and Reflection how ally'd; 225
 What thin partitions Sense from Thought divide?

NOTES.

hunting their prey in the deserts of Africa is this: At their first going out in the night-time they set up a loud roar, and then listen to the noise made by the beasts in their flight, pursuing them by the ear, and not by the nostril. It is probable the story of the Jackal's hunting for the lion, was occasioned by observation of this defect of scent in that terrible animal. P.

VER. 224. *For ever sep'rate, &c.*] *Near*, by the similitude of the operation; *separate*, by the immense difference in the nature of the powers.

VER. 226. *What thin partitions, &c.*] So *thin*, that the Atheistic philosophers, as Protagoras, held that *thought was only sense*; and from thence concluded, that *every imagination or opinion of every man was true*: Πᾶσα Φαντασία ἐστὶν ἀληθής. But the poet determines more philosophically, that they are really and essentially different, how *thin* soever the partition is by which they are *divided*. Thus (to illustrate the truth of this observation) when a geometer considers a triangle, in order to demonstrate the equality

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EP. I. ESSAY ON MAN. 21

And Middle natures, how they long to join,
Yet never pass th' insuperable line!

Without this just gradation, could they be
Subjected, these to those, or all to thee? 230

The pow'rs of all subdu'd by thee alone,
Is not thy Reason all these pow'rs in one?

VIII. See, thro' this air, this ocean, and this earth,
All matter quick, and bursting into birth.

Above, how high, progressive life may go! 235
Around, how wide! how deep extend below!

Vast chain of Being! which from God began,
Natures æthereal, human, angel, man,

VARIATIONS.

VER. 238, Ed. 1st.

Æthereal essence, spirit, substance, man.

NOTES.

of its three angles to two right ones, he has the picture or image of some sensible triangle in his mind, which is *sense*; yet notwithstanding, he must needs have the notion or idea of an intellectual triangle in his mind, which is *thought*; for this plain reason, because every image or picture of a triangle must needs be obtusangular, or rectangular, or acutangular: but that which, in his mind, is the subject of this proposition, is the *ratio* of a triangle, undetermined to any of these species. On this account it was that Aristotle said, *Νοήματα τιμὴ διόσει, τὲ μὴ φαίλασματὰ εἶναι ἢ ἕδὲ ταῦτα φαντάσματὰ ἀλλ' ἔκ ἀνευ φαίλασματων.* The conceptions of the Mind differ somewhat from sensible images; they are not sensible images, and yet not quite free or disengaged from sensible images.

VER. 237. *Vast chain of Being!*] Who will not ac-

Beast, bird, fish, insect, what no eye can see,
 No glass can reach; from Infinite to thee, 240
 From thee to Nothing.—On superior pow'rs
 Were we to preiss, inferior might on ours:
 Or in the full creation leave a void,
 Where, one step broken, the great scale's destroy'd;
 From Nature's chain whatever link you strike, 245
 Tenth, or ten thousandth, breaks the chain alike,
 And, if each system in gradation roll
 Alike essential to th' amazing Whole,
 The least confusion but in one, not all
 That system only, but the Whole must fall. 250
 Let Earth unbalanc'd from her orbit fly,
 Planets and suns run lawless thro' the sky;

NOTES.

knowledge, therefore, that so harmonious a connexion in the disposition of things as is here described, is transcendently beautiful? But the *Fatalists* suppose such an one—What then? Is the First Free Agent, is the great Cause of all things, debarred from a contrivance so exquisite, because some Men, to set up their idol, Fate, absurdly represent it as presiding over such a system.

VER. 243. *Or in the full creation leave a void, &c.*] This is only an illustration, alluding to the Peripatetic *plenum* and *vacuum*; the *full* and *void* here meant, relating not to Matter, but to Life.

VER. 247. *And if each system in gradation roll.*] The verb alludes to the *motion* of the planetary bodies of each system; and to the *figures* described by that motion.

VER. 251. *Let Earth unbalanc'd*] *i. e.* Being no longer kept within its orbit by the different directions of its pro-

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Let ruling Angels from their spheres be hurl'd,
 Being on being wreck'd, and world on world;
 Heav'n's whole foundations to their centre nod, 255
 And Nature trembles to the throne of God.

All this dread ORDER break—for whom? for thee?
 Vile worm!—oh Madnefs! Pride! Impiety!

IX. What if the foot, ordain'd the duft to tread,
 Or hand, to toil, aspir'd to be the head? 260

What if the head, the eye, or ear repin'd
 To serve mere engines to the ruling mind?

Just as absurd for any part to claim

To be another, in this gen'ral frame :

Just as absurd, to mourn the tasks or pains 265

The great directing MIND of ALL ordains.

NOTES.

gressive and attractive motions; which, like equal Weights in a balance, keep it in an equilibrio.

VER. 253. *Let ruling Angels, &c.*] The poet, throughout this poem, with great art, uses an advantage, which his employing a *Platonic* principle for the foundation of his Essay had afforded him; and that is, the expressing himself (as here) in Platonic notions; which, luckily for his purpose, are highly poetical, at the same time that they add a grace to the uniformity of his reasoning.

VER. 259. *What if the foot, &c.*] This fine illustration in defence of the *System of Nature*, is taken from *St. Paul*, who employed it to defend the *System of Grace*.

VER. 265. *Just as absurd, &c.*] See the prosecution and application of this in Ep. iv. P.

VER. 266. *The great directing Mind, &c.*] “Veneramur autem et colimus ob dominium. Deus enim sine do-

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul;

NOTES.

“minio, providentia, et causis finalibus, nihil aliud est
“quam FATUM & NATURA.” *Newtoni Princip. Schol.
gener. sub finem.*

VER. 268. *Whose body Nature is, &c.*] A certain examiner remarks, on this line, that “A Spinofist would express himself in this manner.” I believe he would, and so, we know, would St. Paul too, when writing on the same subject, namely, the omnipresence of God in his Providence, and in his Substance. *In him we live, and move, and have our being; i. e.* we are parts of him, *his offspring*, as the Greek poet, a pantheist quoted by the Apostle, observes: And the reason is, because a religious theist, and an impious pantheist, both profess to believe the omnipresence of God. But would Spinoza, as Mr. Pope does, call God *the great directing Mind of all*, who hath intentionally created a perfect Universe? Or would a Spinozist have told us,

The workman from the work distinct was known,
a line that overturns all Spinozism from its very foundations.

But this sublime description of the Godhead contains not only the *divinity* of St. Paul; but, if that will not satisfy the men he writes against, the *philosophy* likewise of Sir Isaac Newton;

The Poet says,

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul;
That, chang'd thro' all, and yet in all the same;
Great in the earth, as in th' æthereal frame;
Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
Glow's in the stars, and blossoms in the trees,

That, chang'd thro' all, and yet in all the same;
Great in the earth, as in th' æthereal frame; 270

NOTES.

Lives thro' all life, extends thro' all extent,
Spreads undivided, operates unspent.

The philosopher:—"In ipso continentur et moventur
"universa, sed absque mutua passione. Deus nihil patitur
"ex corporum motibus; illa nullam sentiunt resistantiam
"ex omnipræsentia Dei—Corpore omni et figura corporea
"destituitur.—Omnia regit et omnia cognoscit.—Cum
"unaquæque Spatii particula sit semper, et unumquod-
"que Durationis indivisibile momentum, ubique certe
"rerum omnium Fabricator ac Dominus non erit nun-
"quam, nusquam."

Mr. Pope:

Breathes in our soul, informs our mortal part,
As full, as perfect, in a hair as heart;
As full, as perfect, in vile man that mourns,
As the rapt Seraph that adores and burns:
To him no high, no low, no great, no small;
He fills, he bounds, connects, and equals all.

Sir Isaac Newton:—"Annon ex phænomenis constat
"esse entem incorporeum, viventem, intelligentem, omni-
"præsentem, qui in spatio infinito, tanquam sensorio suo,
"res ipsas intime cernat, penitusque perspiciat, totasque
"intra se præsens præsentes complectatur."

But now admitting, there was an ambiguity in these
expressions so great, that a Spinozist might employ them
to express his own particular principles; and such a thing
might well be, because the Spinozists, in order to hide the
impiety of their principle, are wont to express the Omni-
presence of God in terms that any religious Theist might
employ: In this case, I say, how are we to judge of the

Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
 Glows in the stars, and blossoms in the trees,
 Lives thro' all life, extends thro' all extent,
 Spreads undivided, operates unspent ;
 Breathes in our soul, informs our mortal part, 275
 As full, as perfect, in a hair as heart ;
 As full, as perfect, in vile Man that mourns,
 As the rapt Seraph that adores and burns :

NOTES.

Poet's meaning? Surely by the whole tenor of his argument. Now take the words in the Sense of the Spinozists, and he is made in the conclusion of his Epistle, to overthrow all he has been advancing throughout the body of it: For Spinozism is the destruction of an Universe, where every thing tends, by a foreseen contrivance in all its parts, to the perfection of the whole. But allow him to employ the passage in the sense of St. Paul, *That we and all creatures live, and move, and have our being in God;* and then it will be seen to be the most logical support of all that had preceded. For the Poet having, as we say, laboured through his Epistle to prove, that every thing in the Universe tends, by a foreseen contrivance, and a present direction of all its parts, to the perfection of the whole; it might be objected, that such a disposition of things implying in God a painful, operose and inconceivable extent of Providence, it could not be supposed that such care extended to *all*, but was confined to the more noble parts of the creation. This gross conception of the First Cause the Poet exposes, by shewing that God is equally and intimately present to every particle of Matter, to every sort of Substance, and in every instant of Being.

VER. 278. *As the rapt Seraph, &c.*] Alluding to the Name *Seraphim*, signifying burners.

To him no high, no low, no great, no small ;
 He fills, he bounds, connects, and equals all. 280

X. Cease then, nor ORDER Imperfection name :
 Our proper blifs depends on what we blame.
 Know thy own point: This kind, this due degree
 Of blindness, weakness, Heav'n bestows on thee.

VARIATIONS.

After ver. 282. in the MS.

Reason, to think of God when she pretends,
 Begins a Censor, an Adorer ends.

NOTES.

VER. 281. *Cease then, nor Order*] That the reader may see in one view the exactness of the Method, as well as Force of the Argument, I shall here draw up a short synopsis of this Epistle. The Poet begins by telling us his subject is an Essay on Man: That his end of writing is to vindicate Providence: That he intends to derive his arguments from the visible things of God seen in this system: Lays down this Proposition, *That of all possible systems infinite Wisdom has formed the best*: Draws from thence two Consequences, 1. *That there must needs be somewhere such a creature as Man*; 2. *That the moral Evil which he is author of, is productive of the good of the whole*. This is his general Thesis; from whence he forms this conclusion, *That Man should rest submissive and content, and make the hopes of futurity his comfort*; but not suffer this to be the occasion of PRIDE, which is the cause of all his impious Complaints.

He proceeds to confirm his Thesis—Previously endeavours to abate our wonder at the phænomenon of moral

Submit.—In this, or any other sphere, 285
 Secure to be as blest as thou canst bear:
 Safe in the hand of one disposing Pow'r,
 Or in the natal, or the mortal hour.
 All Nature is but Art, unknown to thee;
 All Chance, Direction, which thou canst not see;
 All Discord, Harmony not understood; 291
 All partial Evil, universal Good:

NOTES.

Evil; shews, first, *its Use to the perfection of the Universe*, by Analogy, from the use of *physical Evil* in this particular system—Secondly, *its use in this system*, where it is turned, providentially, from its natural bias to promote Virtue. Then goes on to vindicate Providence from the imputation of certain *supposed natural Evils*; as he had before justified it for the permission of *real moral Evil*, in shewing that, though the atheist's complaint against Providence be on pretence of *real moral Evil*, yet the true cause is his impatience under *imaginary natural Evil*; the issue of a *depraved appetite for fantastical advantages*, which, if obtained, would be *useless or hurtful* to Man, and deforming and destructive to the Universe, as breaking into that Order by which it is supported.—He describes that *Order, Harmony, and close connexion of the Parts*; and by shewing the intimate presence of God to his whole creation, gives a reason for an Universe so amazingly beautiful and perfect. From all this he deduces his general Conclusion, *That Nature being neither a blind chain of Causes and Effects, nor yet the fortuitous result of wandering atoms, but the wonderful Art and Direction of an al-wise, all-good, and free Being; WHATSOEVER IS, IS RIGHT, with regard to the Disposition of God, and its Ultimate Tendency*; which once granted, all complaints against Providence are at an end.

And, spite of Pride, in erring Reason's spite,
 One truth is clear, **WHATEVER IS, IS RIGHT.**

NOTES.

VER. 294. *One truth is clear, Whatever is, is right.*] What are we to understand by these words? Did the Poet mean right with regard to Man, or right with regard to God; right with regard to itself, or right with regard to its ultimate tendency? Surely **WITH REGARD TO GOD**; for he tells us his design is to *vindicate the ways of God to Man*. Surely, with regard to its **ULTIMATE TENDENCY**; for he tells us again, *all partial ill is universal good*, ver. 291.

EPISTLE II.

I. **K**NOW then thyself, presume not God to scan,
 The proper study of Mankind is Man.
 Plac'd on this isthmus of a middle state,
 A Being darkly wise, and rudely great :

VARIATIONS.

VER. 2. Ed. 1st.

The only science of Mankind is Man.

NOTES.

VER. 2. *The proper study, &c.*] The Poet having shewn, in the *first* epistle, that the *ways of God* are too high for our comprehension, rightly draws this conclusion, and methodically makes it the subject of his Introduction to the *second*, which treats of the *Nature of Man*.

VER. 3. *Plac'd on this isthmus, &c.*] As the Poet hath given us this description of Man for the very contrary purpose to which *Sceptics* are wont to employ such kind of paintings, namely, not to deter men from the *search*, but to excite them to the *discovery* of truth; he hath, with great judgment, represented Man as doubting and wavering between the *right* and *wrong* object; from which state there are great hopes he may be relieved by a careful and circumspect use of Reason. On the contrary, had he supposed Man so blind, as to be busied in chusing, or doubtful in his choice, between two objects *equally wrong*, the case had appeared desperate, and all *study of Man* had been effectually discouraged.

With too much knowledge for the Sceptic side; 5
 With too much weakness for the Stoic's pride,
 He hangs between; in doubt to act, or rest;
 In doubt to deem himself a God, or Beast;
 In doubt his Mind or Body to prefer;
 Born but to die, and reas'ning but to err; 10
 Alike in ignorance, his reason such,
 Whether he thinks too little, or too much;

NOTES.

VER. 10. *Born but to die, &c.*] The author's meaning is, that, as we are *born to die*, and yet to enjoy some small portion of life; so, though we *reason to err*, yet we comprehend some few truths. This is the weak state of Reason, in which Error mixes itself with all its true conclusions concerning Man's Nature.

VER. 11. *Alike in ignorance, &c.*] *i. e.* The proper sphere of his Reason is so narrow, and the exercise of it so nice, that the too immoderate use of it is attended with the same ignorance that proceeds from the not using it at all. Yet, tho' in both these cases, he is *abused by himself*, he has it still in his own power to *disabuse himself*, in making his passions subservient to the *means*, and regulating his Reason by the *end* of Life.

VER. 12. *Whether he thinks too little, or too much.*] This is so true, that ignorance arises as well from pushing our inquiries too far, as from not carrying them far enough, that we may observe, when Speculations, even in Science, are carried beyond a certain point; that point, where use is reasonably supposed to end, and mere curiosity to begin; they conclude in the most extravagant and senseless inferences; such as the unreality of matter; the reality of space; the servility of the will, &c. The reason of this is, when ideas fall out of full light into utter darkness appears not to result from the natural condition of things, but to

Chaos of Thought and Passion, all confus'd ;
 Still by himself abus'd, or disabus'd ;
 Created half to rise, and half to fall ;
 Great lord of all things, yet a prey to all ;
 Sole judge of Truth, in endless Error hurl'd ;
 The glory, jest, and riddle of the world !

VARIATIONS.

After ver. 18. in the MS.

For more perfection than this state can bear
 In vain we sigh, Heav'n made us as we are,
 As wisely sure a modest Ape might aim
 To be like man, whose faculties and frame
 He sees, he feels, as you or I to be
 An Angel thing we neither know nor see,
 Observe how near he edges on our race ;
 What human tricks ! how risible of face !
 It must be so—why else have I the sense
 Of more than monkey charms and excellence ?
 Why else to walk on two so oft essay'd ?
 And why this ardent longing for a maid ?
 So Pug might plead, and call his Gods unkind
 Till set on end and married to his mind.
 Go, reas'ning thing ! assume the Doctor's chair,
 As Plato deep, as Seneca severe :

NOTES.

be the arbitrary decree of infinite wisdom and goodness
 which imposed a barrier to the extravagances of its giddy
 lawless creature, always inclined to pursue truths of less
 importance too far, to the neglect of those more necessary
 for his improvement in his station here.

Go, wond'rous creature ! mount where Science
guides,

Go, measure earth, weigh air, and state the tides ; 20

Instruct the planets in what orbs to run,

Correct old Time, and regulate the Sun ;

Go, soar with Plato, to th' empyreal sphere,

To the first good, first perfect, and first fair ;

Or tread the mazy round his follow'rs trod, 25

And quitting sense call imitating God ;

As Eastern priests in giddy circles run,

And turn their heads to imitate the Sun.

VARIATIONS.

Fix moral fitness, and to God give rule,
Then drop into thyself, &c.—

VER. 21. Ed. 4th and 5th.

Shew by what rules the wand'ring planets stray,
Correct old Time, and teach the Sun his way.

NOTES.

VER. 20. *Go, measure earth, &c.*] Alluding to the noble and useful project of our modern Mathematicians, to measure a degree at the equator and polar circle, in order to determine the true figure of the earth ; of great importance to astronomy and navigation.

VER. 22. *Correct old Time,*] This alludes to Sir Isaac Newton's Grecian Chronology, which he reformed on those two sublime conceptions, the difference between the reigns of kings, and the generations of men ; and the position of the colures of the equinoxes and solstices at the time of the Argonautic expedition.

Go, teach Eternal Wisdom how to rule—
Then drop into thyself, and be a fool!

30

Superior beings, when of late they saw
A mortal Man unfold all Nature's law,
Admir'd such wisdom in an earthly shape,
And shew'd a NEWTON as we shew an Ape.

NOTES.

VER. 29, 30. *Go, teach Eternal Wisdom, &c.*] These two lines are a conclusion from all that had been said from ver. 18, to this effect: Go now, vain Man, elated with thy acquirements in *real science*, and *imaginary* intimacy with God; go, and run into all the extravagancies I have exploded in the first epistle, where thou pretendest to teach Providence how to govern; then drop into the obscurities of thy own nature, and thereby manifest thy ignorance and folly.

VER. 31. *Superior beings, &c.*] In these lines he speaks to this effect: But to make you fully sensible of the difficulty of this study, I shall instance in the great Newton himself; whom, when superior beings, not long since, saw capable of unfolding the whole law of Nature, they were in doubt whether the owner of such prodigious sagacity should not be reckoned of their own order; just as men, when they see the surprizing marks of Reason in an Ape, are almost tempted to rank him with their own kind. And yet this wondrous Man could go no further in the knowledge of himself than the generality of his species. In which we see it was not Mr. Pope's intention to bring any of the Ape's *qualities*, but its *sagacity*, into the comparison. But why the *Ape's*, it may be said, rather than the sagacity of some more decent animal, particularly the *half-reasoning elephant*, as the poet calls it, which, as well on account of this its superiority, as for its having no ridiculous side, like the Ape, on which it could

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Could he, whose rules the rapid Comet bind, 35
Describe or fix one movement of his mind ?

VARIATIONS.

VER. 35. Ed. 1st.

Could he, who taught each Planet where to roll,
Describe or fix one movement of the Soul ?
Who mark'd their points to rise or to descend,
Explain his own beginning or his end ?

NOTES.

be viewed, seems better to have deserved this honour ? I reply, Because, as none but a shape *resembling human*, accompanied with great sagacity, could occasion the *doubt* of that animal's relation to Man, the Ape only having that resemblance, no other animal was fitted for the comparison. And on this ground of relation the whole beauty of the thought depends ; Newton and those superior spirits being equally framed for immortality, though of different orders. And here let me take notice of a new species of the Sublime, of which our poet may be justly said to be the maker ; so new, that we have yet no name for it, though of a nature distinct from every other poetical excellence. The two great perfections of works of genius are WIT and SUBLIMITY. Many writers have been witty, several have been sublime, and some few have even possessed both these qualities separately ; but none that I know of, besides our Poet, hath had the art to incorporate them ; of which he hath given many examples, both in this Essay and his other poems, one of the noblest being the passage in question. This seems to be the last effort of the imagination, to poetical perfection ; and in this compounded excellence the Wit receives a dignity from the Sublime, and the Sublime a splendor from the Wit ; which, in their state of separate existence, they both wanted.

Who saw its fires here rise, and there descend,
 Explain his own beginning, or his end ?
 Alas what wonder ! Man's superior part
 Uncheck'd may rise, and climb from art to art ;
 But when his own great work is but begun,
 What Reason weaves, by Passion is undone.

Trace Science then, with Modesty thy guide ;
 First strip off all her equipage of pride ;
 Deduct what is but Vanity, or Dress,
 Or learning's Luxury, or Idleness ;

NOTES.

VER. 37. *Who saw its fires here rise, &c.*] Sir Isaac Newton, in calculating the velocity of a comet's motion, and the course it describes, when it becomes visible in its descent to, and ascent from, the Sun, conjectured, with the highest appearance of truth, that comets revolve perpetually round the Sun, in ellipses vastly eccentrical, and very nearly approaching to parabolas. In which he was greatly confirmed, in observing, between two comets, a coincidence in their perihelions, and a perfect agreement in their velocities.

VER. 45.—*Vanity, or Dress,*] These are the first parts of what the Poet, in the preceding line, calls the scholar's *equipage of pride*. By *Vanity* is meant that luxuriancy of thought and expression in which a writer indulges himself, to shew the fruitfulness of his fancy or invention. By *dress* is to be understood a lower degree of that practice, in amplification of thought and ornamental expression, to give force to what the writer would convey; but even this, the Poet, in a severe search after truth, condemns; and with great judgment. Conciseness of thought and simplicity of expression, being as well the best *instru-*

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Or tricks to shew the stretch of human brain,
 Mere curious pleasure, or ingenious pain;
 Expunge the whole, or lop th' excrescent parts
 Of all our Vices have created Arts; 50

Then see how little the remaining sum,
 Which serv'd the past, and must the times to come!

II. Two principles in human nature reign;
 Self-love, to urge, and Reason, to restrain;
 Nor this a good, nor that a bad we call, 55
 Each works its end, to move or govern all:

NOTES.

ments, as the best *vehicles* of Truth. *Shakespear* touches upon this latter advantage with great force and humour. The Flatterer says to *Timon* in distress, "I cannot cover the monstrous bulk of their ingratitude with any *size* of words." The other replies, "Let it go naked, men may see't the better."

VER. 46. *Or Learning's Luxury, or Idleness;*] The *Luxury of Learning* consists in dressing up and disguising old notions in a new way, so as to make them more fashionable and palatable; instead of examining and scrutinizing their truth. As this is often done for pomp and shew, it is called *luxury*; as it is often done to save pains and labour, it is called *idleness*.

VER. 47. *Or tricks to shew the stretch of human brain.*] Such as the mathematical demonstrations concerning the *small quantity of matter*; the *endless divisibility* of it, &c.

VER. 48. *Mere curious pleasure, or ingenious pain;*] That is, when *Admiration* sets the mind on the rack.

VER. 49. *Expunge the whole, or lop th' excrescent parts—Of all our vices have created Arts;*] *i. e.* Those parts of natural Philosophy, Logic, Rhetoric, Poetry, &c. that administer to luxury, deceit, ambition, effeminacy, &c.

And to their proper operation still,
Ascribe all Good, to their improper, III.

Self-love, the spring of motion, acts the soul;
Reason's comparing balance rules the whole. 60
Man, but for that, no action could attend,
And, but for this, were active to no end:
Fix'd like a plant on his peculiar spot,
To draw nutrition, propagate, and rot;
Or, meteor-like, flame lawless thro' the void, 65
Destroying others, by himself destroy'd.

Most strength the moving principle requires;
Active its task, it prompts, impels, inspires:
Sedate and quiet, the comparing lies,
Form'd but to check, delib'rate, and advise. 70
Self-love still stronger, as its objects nigh;
Reason's at distance, and in prospect lie:
That sees immediate good by present sense;
Reason, the future and the consequence.
Thicker than arguments, temptations throng, 75
At best more watchful this, but that more strong.
The action of the stronger to suspend
Reason still use, to Reason still attend.

NOTES.

VER. 74. *Reason, the future and the consequence.*] i. e. By *experienc*, Reason collects the *future*; and by *argumentation*, *ti* & *c* *sequence*.

Attention, habit and experience gains ;
 Each strengthens Reason, and Self-love restrains. 80
 Let subtle schoolmen teach these friends to fight,
 More studious to divide than to unite ;
 And Grace and Virtue, Sense and Reason split,
 With all the rash dexterity of wit.
 Wits, just like fools, at war about a name, 85
 Have full as oft no meaning, or the same.
 Self-love and Reason to one end aspire,
 Pain their averfion, Pleasure their desire ;
 But greedy That, its object would devour,
 This taste the honey, and not wound the flow'r : 90

VARIATIONS.

After ver. 86. in the MS.

Of good and evil Gods what frightened Fools,
 Of good and evil Reason puzzled Schools,
 Deceiv'd, deceiving, taught————

NOTES.

VER. 81. *Let subtle schoolmen, &c.*] This observation on the folly of the schoolmen, who consider *reason* and the *passions* as two opposite principles, the one *good* and the other *evil*, is seasonable and judicious; for this folly gives great support to the Manichæan or Zoroastrian error, the confutation of which was one of the author's chief ends in writing. For if there be *two principles* in man, a *good* and *bad*, it is natural to think him the joint product of the two Manichæan deities (the first of which contributed to his *Reason*, the other to his *Passions*) rather than the creature of one Individual Cause. This was Plutarch's notion, and, as we may see in him, of the more ancient

Pleasure, or wrong or rightly understood,
Our greatest evil, or our greatest good.

III. Modes of Self-love the Passions we may call:
'Tis real good, or seeming, moves them all:
But since not ev'ry good we can divide, 95
And Reason bids us for our own provide;
Passions, tho' selfish, if their means be fair,
List under Reason, and deserve her care;
Those, that imparted, court a nobler aim,
Exalt their kind, and take some Virtue's name. 100

In lazy Apathy let Stoics boast
Their Virtue fix'd; 'tis fix'd as in a frost;
Contracted all, retiring to the breast;
But strength of mind is Exercise, not Rest:
The rising tempest puts in act the soul, 105
Parts it may ravage, but preserves the whole.
On life's vast ocean diversely we sail,
Reason the card, but Passion is the gale;

VARIATIONS.

After ver. 108. in the MS.

A tedious voyage! where how useles lies
The compass, if no pow'ful gusts arise?

NOTES.

Manichæans. It was of importance, therefore, to reprobate and subvert a notion that served to the support of so dangerous an error.

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Nor God alone in the still calm we find,
 He mounts the storm, and walks upon the wind. 110

Passions, like elements, tho' born to fight,
 Yet, mix'd and soften'd, in his work unite:
 These, 'tis enough to temper and employ;
 But what composes Man, can Man destroy?
 Suffice that Reason keep to Nature's road, 115
 Subject, compound them, follow her and God.

VARIATIONS.

After ver. 112. in the MS.

The soft reward the virtuous, or invite;
 The fierce, the vicious punish or affright.

NOTES.

VER. 109. *Nor God alone, &c.*] These words are only a simple affirmation in the poetic dress of a similitude, to this purpose: Good is not only produced by the subdual of the passions, but by the turbulent exercise of them. A truth conveyed under the most sublime imagery that poetry could conceive or paint. For the author is here only shewing the providential issue of the Passions, and how, by God's gracious disposition, they are turned away from their natural biases, to promote the happiness of Mankind. As to the method in which they are to be treated by Man in whom they are found, all that he contends for, in favour of them, is only this, that they should not be quite rooted up and destroyed, as the Stoics, and their followers in all religions, foolishly attempted. For the rest, he constantly repeats this advice,

The action of the stronger to suspend,
 Reason still use, to Reason still attend.

Love, Hope, and Joy, fair Pleasure's smiling train,
 Hate, Fear, and Grief, the family of Pain,
 These mix'd with art, and to due bounds confin'd,
 Make and maintain the balance of the Mind: 120
 The lights and shades, whose well-accorded strife
 Gives all the strength and colour of our life.

Pleasures are ever in our hands or eyes;
 And when, in act, they cease, in prospect, rise:
 Present to grasp, and future still to find, 125
 The whole employ of body and of mind.
 All spread their charms, but charm not all alike;
 On diff'rent senses diff'rent objects strike;

NOTES.

VER. 127. *All spread their charms, &c.*] Though all the Passions have their turn in swaying the determinations of the mind, yet every Man hath one MASTER PASSION that at length stifles or absorbs all the rest. The fact he illustrates at large in his epistle to Lord Cobham. Here (from ver. 126 to 149.) he giveth us the cause of it. Those Pleasures or Goods, which are the objects of the Passions, affect the mind by striking on the senses; but, as through the formation of the organs of our frame, every man hath some one sense stronger and more acute than others, the object which strikes that stronger and acuter sense, whatever it be, will be the object most desired; and consequently, the pursuit of that will be the *ruling passion*. That the difference of force in this ruling passion shall, at first, perhaps, be very small, or even imperceptible; but Nature, Habit, Imagination, Wit, nay, even Reason itself shall assist its growth, till it hath at length drawn and converted every other into itself. All which is delivered

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EP. II. ESSAY ON MAN. 43

Hence different passions more or less inflame,
As strong or weak the organs of the frame; 130
And hence one MASTER PASSION in the breast,
Like Aaron's serpent, swallows up the rest.

As Man, perhaps, the moment of his breath,
Receives the lurking principle of death;
The young disease, that must subdue at length, 135
Grows with his growth, and strengthens with his
strength :

So, cast and mingled with his very frame,
The Mind's disease, its RULING PASSION came;
Each vital humour which should feed the whole,
Soon flows to this, in body and in soul: 140
Whatever warms the heart, or fills the head,
As the mind opens, and its functions spread,
Imagination plies her dang'rous art,
And pours it all upon the peccant part.

NOTES.

in a strain of Poetry so wonderfully sublime, as suspends, for a while, the *ruling passion*, in every Reader, and engrosses his whole Admiration.

This naturally leads the Poet to lament the weakness and insufficiency of human reason; and the purpose he had in so doing, was plainly to intimate the necessity of a more perfect dispensation to Mankind.

VER. 133. *As Man, perhaps, &c.*] "Antipater Sidonius
"Poeta omnibus annis uno die natali tantum corripiebatur
"febre, et eo consumptus est, satis longa senecta." *Plin.*
N. H. l. vii. This *Antipater* was in the times of Crassus,
and is celebrated for the quickness of his parts by Cicero.

Nature its mother, Habit is its nurse; 145
 Wit, Spirit, Faculties but make it worse;
 Reason itself but gives it edge and pow'r;
 As Heav'n's blest beam turns vinegar more sour.
 We, wretched subjects though to lawful sway,
 In this weak queen, some fav'rite still obey: 150
 Ah! if she lend not arms, as well as rules,
 What can she more than tell us we are fools?
 Teach us to mourn our Nature, not to mend,
 A sharp accuser, but a helpless friend!
 Or from a judge turn pleader, to persuade 155
 The choice we make, or justify it made;

NOTES.

VER. 147. *Reason itself, &c.*] The Poet, in some other of his epitties, gives examples of the doctrine and precepts here delivered. Thus, in that *Of the use of Riches*, he has illustrated this truth in the character of Cotta:

Old Cotta sham'd his fortune and his birth,
 Yet was not Cotta void of wit or worth.
 What tho' (the use of barb'rous spits forgot)
 His kitchen vy'd in coolness with his grot?
 If Cotta liv'd on pulse, it was no more
 Than bramins, saints, and sages did before.

VER. 149. *We, wretched subjects, &c.*] St. Paul himself did not chuse to employ other arguments, when disposed to give us the highest idea of the usefulness of Christianity (*Rom. vii.*) But, it may be, the Poet finds a remedy in Natural Religion. Far from it. He here leaves reason unrelieved. What is this then, but an intimation that we ought to seek for a cure in that religion, which only dares profess to give it?

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Proud of an easy conquest all along,
 She but removes weak passions for the strong :
 So, when small humours gather to a gout,
 The doctor fancies he has driv'n them out. 160

Yes, Nature's road must ever be preferr'd ;
 Reason is here no guide, but still a guard ;
 'Tis hers to rectify, not overthrow,
 And treat this passion more as friend than foe :
 A mightier Pow'r the strong direction sends, 165
 And sev'ral Men impels to sev'ral ends :

NOTES.

VER. 163. *'Tis her's to rectify, &c.*] The meaning of this precept is, That as the ruling Passion is implanted by Nature; it is Reason's office to regulate, direct, and restrain, but not to overthrow it. To regulate the passion of Avarice, for instance, into a parsimonious dispensation of the public revenues; to direct the passion of Love, whose object is worth and beauty,

To the first good, first perfect, and first fair,

ὡς καλὸν τ' ἀγαθόν, as his master Plato advises; and to restrain Spleen to a contempt and hatred of Vice. This is what the poet meant, and what every unprejudic'd man could not but see he must needs mean by RECTIFYING THE MASTER PASSION, though he had not confined us to this sense in the reason he gives of his precept in these words:

A mightier Pow'r the strong direction sends,

And sev'ral men impels to sev'ral ends:

For what ends are they which God impels to, but the ends of Virtue?

Like varying winds, by other passions tost,
 This drives them constant to a certain coast.
 Let pow'r or knowledge, gold or glory, please,
 Or (oft more strong than all) the love of ease; 170
 Thro' life 'tis follow'd, ev'n at life's expence;
 The merchant's toil, the sage's indolence,
 The monk's humility, the hero's pride,
 All, all alike, find reason on their side.

Th' Eternal Art educating good from ill, 175
 Grafts on this Passion our best Principle:
 'Tis thus the Mercury of Man is fix'd,
 Strong grows the Virtue with his Nature mix'd;
 The dross cements what else were too refin'd,
 And in one int'rest body acts with mind. 180

As fruits, ungrateful to the planter's care,
 On savage stocks inserted, learn to bear;

NOTES.

VER. 175. *Th' Eternal Art, &c.*] The author, throughout these epistles, has explained his meaning to be, that vice is, in its own nature, the greatest of evils; and produced by the abuse of man's free-will,

What makes all physical and moral ill?

'There deviates Nature, and here wanders will:

but that God, in his infinite goodness, deviously turns the natural bias of its malignity to the advancement of human happiness: a doctrine very different from *the Fable of the Bees*, which impiously and foolishly supposes it to have that natural tendency.

The surest Virtues thus from passions shoot,
 Wild Nature's vigor working at the root.
 What crops of wit and honesty appear 185
 From spleen, from obstinacy, hate, or fear!
 See anger, zeal and fortitude supply;
 Ev'n av'rice, prudence; sloth, philosophy;
 Lust, thro' some certain strainers well refin'd,
 Is gentle love, and charms all womankind; 190
 Envy, to which th' ignoble mind's a slave,
 Is emulation in the learn'd or brave;
 Nor Virtue, male or female, can we name,
 But what will grow on Pride, or grow on Shame.
 Thus Nature gives us (let it check our pride) 195
 The virtue nearest to our vice ally'd;

VARIATIONS.

After ver. 194. in the MS.

How oft, with Passion, Virtue points her Charms!
 Then shines the Hero, then the Patriot warms.
 Peleus' great Son, or Brutus, who had known,
 Had Lucrece been a whore, or Helen none?
 But Virtues opposite to make agree,
 That, Reason! is thy task; and worthy Thee.
 Hard task, cries Bibulus, and reason weak.
 —Make it a point, dear Marquis! or a pique.
 Once, for a whim, persuade yourself to pay
 A debt to reason, like a debt at play.
 For right or wrong have mortals suffer'd more?
 B— for his Prince, or ** for his Whore?

Reason the byas turns to good from ill,
 And Nero reigns a Titus, if he will.
 The fiery soul abhorr'd in Catiline,
 In Decius charms, in Curtius is divine:
 The same ambition can destroy or save,
 And makes a patriot as it makes a knave.

This light and darkness in our chaos join'd,
 What shall divide? The God within the mind.

VARIATIONS.

Whose self-denials nature most controul?
 His, who would save a Six-pence, or his Soul?
 Web for his health, a Chartreux for his sin,
 Contend they not which soonest shall grow thin?
 What we resolve, we can: but here's the fault,
 We ne'er resolve to do the thing we ought.

NOTES.

VER. 197. *Reason the byas, &c.*] Lest it should be objected, that this account favours the doctrine of Necessity and would insinuate that men are only acted upon, in the production of Good out of Evil; the Poet here teaches that Man is a free-agent, and hath it in his own power to turn the natural passions into Virtue or into Vices, properly so called:

Reason the byas turns to good from ill,
 And Nero reigns a Titus, if he will.

VER. 204. *The God within the mind.*] A Platonic phrase for Conscience; and here employed with great judgment and propriety. For Conscience either signifies, speculatively, the judgment we pass of things upon whatever principles we chance to have; and then it is only Opinion

Extremes in Nature equal ends produce, 205
In Man they join to some mysterious use ;
Tho' each by turns the other's bounds invade,
As, in some well-wrought picture, light and shade,
And oft so mix, the difference is too nice
Where ends the Virtue, or begins the Vice. 210
Fools ! who from hence into the notion fall,
That Vice or Virtue there is none at all.
If white and black blend, soften, and unite
A thousand ways, is there no black or white ?

NOTES.

a very unable judge and divider. Or else it signifies, practically, the application of the eternal rule of right (received by us as the law of God) to the regulation of our actions ; and then it is properly Conscience, *the God* (or the law of God) *within the mind*, of power to divide the light from the darkness in this chaos of the passions.

VER. 205. *Extremes in Nature equal ends produce.*] The Poet here reasons to this effect, That though indeed Vice and Virtue so invade each other's bounds, that sometimes we can scarce tell where one ends, and the other begins, yet great purposes are served thereby, no less than the perfecting the constitution of the whole, as lights and shades, which run into one another in a well-wrought picture, make the harmony and spirit of the composition. But, on this account, to say there is neither Vice nor Virtue, the Poet shews would be just as wise as to say, there is neither black nor white ; because the shade of that, and the light of this, often run into one another :

Ask your own heart, and nothing is so plain ;
'Tis to mistake them, costs the time and pain.

Ask your own heart, and nothing is so plain; 215
'Tis to mistake them, costs the time and pain.

Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As, to be hated, needs but to be seen;
Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace. 220
But where th' Extreme of Vice, was ne'er agreed:
Ask where's the North? at York, 'tis on the Tweed;
In Scotland, at the Orcades; and there,
At Greenland, Zembla, or the Lord knows where:
No creature owns it in the first degree, 225
But thinks his neighbour further gone than he;
Ev'n those who dwell beneath its very zone,
Or never feel the rage, or never own;
What happier natures shrink at with affright,
The hard inhabitant contends is right. 230

VARIATIONS.

After ver. 220. in the first Edition, followed these,

A Cheat! a Whore! who starts not at the name,
In all the Inns of court or Drury-lane?

After ver. 226. in the MS.

The Col'nel swears the Agent is a dog,
The Scriv'ner vows th' Attorney is a rogue.
Against the Thief th' Attorney loud inveighs,
For whose ten pound the County twenty pays.
The Thief damns Judges, and the Knaves of State;
And dying, mourns small Villains hang'd by great.

Virtuous and vicious ev'ry Man must be,
 Few in th' extreme, but all in the degree :
 The rogue and fool, by fits is fair and wise ;
 And ev'n the best, by fits, what they despise.
 'Tis but by parts we follow good or ill ; 235
 For, Vice or Virtue, Self directs it still ;
 Each individual seeks a sev'ral goal ;
 But HEAV'N's great view is One, and that the Whole.
 That counter-works each folly and caprice ;
 That disappoints th' effect of ev'ry vice ; 240
 That, happy frailties to all ranks apply'd ;
 Shame to the virgin, to the matron pride,
 Fear to the statesman, rashness to the chief,
 To kings presumption, and to crowds belief :

NOTES.

VER. 231. *Virtuous and vicious ev'ry Man must be,—*
Few in th' extreme, but all in the degree ;] Of this the
 Poet, with admirable sagacity, assigns the cause, in the
 following line :

For, Vice or Virtue, SELF directs it still.

An adherence or regard to what is, in the sense of the
 world, a man's own interest, making an extreme in ei-
 ther *Vice* or *Virtue* almost impossible. Its effect in keep-
 ing a good Man from the extreme of *Virtue*, needs no
 explanation ; and in an ill Man, Self-interest shewing him
 the necessity of some kind of reputation, the procuring,
 and preserving that, will keep him from the extreme of
Vice.

That Virtue's ends from Vanity can raise, 245
 Which seeks no int'rest, no reward but praise;
 And build on wants, and on defects of mind,
 The joy, the peace, the glory of Mankind.
 Heav'n forming each on other to depend,
 A master, or a servant, or a friend, 250
 Bids each on other for assistance call,
 'Till one Man's weakness grows the strength of all.
 Wants, frailties, passions, closer still ally
 The common int'rest, or endear the tie.

NOTES.

VER. 249. *Heav'n forming each on other to depend,*] Hitherto the Poet hath been employed in discoursing of the use of the Passions, with regard to Society at large; and in freeing his doctrine from objections: This is the *first* general division of the subject of this epistle.

He comes now to shew the use of these Passions, with regard to the more confined circle of our Friends, Relations, and Acquaintance: and this is the *second* general division.

VER. 253. *Wants, frailties, passions, closer still ally The common int'rest, &c.*] As these lines have been misunderstood, I shall give the reader their plain and obvious meaning. "To these frailties (says he) we owe all the endearments of private life; yet when we come to that age, which generally disposes Men to think more seriously of the true value of things, and consequently of their provision for a future state, the consideration, that the grounds of those joys, loves, and friendships, are wants, frailties, and passions, proves the best expedient to wean us from the world; a disengagement so friendly to that provision we are now making for another." The observation is new,

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To these we owe true friendship, love sincere, 255
 Each home-felt joy that life inherits here ;
 Yet from the same we learn, in its decline,
 Those joys, those loves, those int'rests to resign ;
 Taught half by Reason, half by mere decay,
 To welcome death, and calmly pass away. 260
 Whate'er the Passion, knowledge, fame, or pelf,
 Not one will change his neighbour with himself.

NOTES.

and would in any place be extremely beautiful, but has here an infinite grace and propriety, as it so well confirms, by an instance of great moment, the general thesis, *that God makes Ill, at every step, productive of Good.*

VER. 261. *Whate'er the Passion, &c.*] The Poet having thus shewn the use of the Passions in *Society*, and in *Domestic* life, he comes, in the last place, to shew their use to the *Individual*, even in their illusions; the imaginary happiness they present, helping to make the real miseries of life less insupportable. And this is his *third* general division :

—Opinion gilds with varying rays

Those painted clouds that beautify our days, &c.
 One prospect lost, another still we gain ;
 And not a vanity is giv'n in vain.

Which must needs vastly raise our idea of God's goodness, who hath not only provided more than a counterbalance of real happiness to human miseries, but hath even, in his infinite compassion, bestowed on those, who were so foolish as not to have made this provision, an imaginary happiness ; that they may not be quite overborne with the load of human miseries. This is the Poet's great and noble thought ; as strong and solid as it is new and ingenious ; which teaches, " That these illusions are the follies of Men, which they wilfully fall

The learn'd is happy nature to explore,
 The fool is happy that he knows no more ;
 The rich is happy in the plenty giv'n, 265
 The poor contents him with the care of Heav'n,
 See the blind beggar dance, the cripple sing,
 The sot a hero, lunatic a king ;
 The starving chemist in his golden views
 Supremely blest, the poet in his Muse. 270

See some strange comfort ev'ry state attend,
 And pride bestow'd on all, a common friend :
 See some fit passion ev'ry age supply,
 Hope travels thro', nor quits us when we die,

NOTES.

into, and through their own fault ; thereby depriving themselves of much happiness, and exposing themselves to equal misery : But that still God (according to his universal way of working) graciously turns these follies so far to the advantage of his miserable creatures, as to be the present solace and support of their distresses :”

—Tho' man's a fool, yet God is wise.

VER. 270. —*the poet in his Muse.*] The author having said, that no one would change his profession or views for those of another, intended to carry his observation still further, and shew that Men were unwilling to exchange their own acquirements even for those of the same kind, confessedly larger, and infinitely more eminent, in another. To this end he wrote,

What partly pleases, totally will shock :

I question much, if *Toland* would be *Locke* :

but wanting another proper instance of this truth when he published his last Edition of the Essay, he reserved the lines above for some following one.

Behold the child, by nature's kindly law, 275
 Pleas'd with a rattle, tickled with a straw :
 Some livelier play-thing gives his youth delight,
 A little louder, but as empty quite :
 Scarfs, garters, gold, amuse his riper stage,
 And beads and pray'r-books are the toys of age: 280
 Pleas'd with this bauble still, as that before ;
 'Till tir'd he sleeps, and Life's poor play is o'er.
 Mean-while Opinion gilds with varying rays
 Those painted clouds that beautify our days ;
 Each want of happiness by Hope supply'd, 285
 And each vacuity of sense by Pride :

NOTES.

VER. 280. *And beads and pray'r-books are the toys of age:]* A Satire on what is called in Popery the *Opus operatum*. As this is a description of the circle of human life returning into itself by a second childhood, the Poet has, with great elegance, concluded his description with the same image with which he set out.

VER. 286. *And each vacuity of sense by Pride:]* An eminent Casuist, *Father Francis Garasse*, in his *Somme Theologique*, has drawn a very charitable conclusion from this principle. "Selon la justice (says this equitable Divine) tout travail honnête doit être recompensé de louange ou de satisfaction. Quand les bons esprits font un ouvrage excellent, ils sont justement recompenséz par les suffrages du Public. Quand un pauvre esprit travaille beaucoup, pour faire un mauvais ouvrage, il n'est pas juste, ni raisonnable, qu'il attende des louanges publiques, car elles ne lui sont pas dues. Mais afin que ses travaux ne

These build as fast as knowledge can destroy ;
 In folly's cup still laughs the bubble, joy ;
 One prospect lost, another still we gain ;
 And not a vanity is giv'n in vain ; 290
 Ev'n mean Self-love becomes, by force divine,
 The scale to measure others wants by thine.
 See ! and confess, one comfort still must rise ;
 'Tis this, Tho' Man's a fool, yet GOD IS WISE.

NOTES.

“ demeurent pas sans recompense, Dieu lui donne une satisfaction personnelle, que personne ne lui peut envier sans un injustice plus que barbare ; tout ainsi que Dieu, qui est juste, donne de la satisfaction aux Grenouilles de leur chant. Autrement la blame public, joint à leur mecontentement, seroit suffisant pour les réduire au desespoir.”

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E P I S T L E III.

HERE then we rest: "The Universal Cause
"Acts to one end, but acts by various laws."

V A R I A T I O N S.

VER. 1. in several Edit. in 4to,

Learn, Dulness, learn! "The Universal Cause, &c"

N O T E S.

EP. III. We are now come to the third Epistle of the Essay on Man. It having been shewn, in explaining the origin, use, and end of the Passions, in the second epistle, that Man hath social as well as selfish passions, that doctrine naturally introduces the third, which treats of Man as a SOCIAL animal; and connects it with the second, which considered him as an INDIVIDUAL. And as the conclusion from the subject of the first epistle made the introduction to the second, so here again, the conclusion of the second,

(Ev'n mean Self-love becomes, by force divine,
The scale to measure others wants by thine,)

maketh the introduction to the third.

VER. 1. *Here then we rest: "The Universal Cause
"Acts to one end, but acts by various laws."*] The reason of variety in those laws, which tend to one and the same end, the good of the Whole generally, is, because the good of the individual is likewise to be provided for; both which together make up the good of the Whole *universally*. And this is the cause, as the Poet says elsewhere, that

Each Individual seeks a sev'ral goal.

But to prevent our resting there, God hath made each need the assistance of another; and so

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 One prospect lost, another still we gain ;
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Each Individual seeks a sev'ral goal.

But to prevent our resting there, God hath made each need the assistance of another; and so

In all the madness of superfluous health,
 The trim of pride, the impudence of wealth,
 Let this great truth be present night and day; 5
 But most be present, if we preach or pray.

NOTES.

On mutual wants built mutual happiness.

* It was necessary to explain the two first lines, the better to see the pertinency and force of what followeth, where the Poet warns such to take notice of this truth, whose circumstances placing them in an imaginary station of independence, and a real one of insensibility to mutual Wants (from whence general Happiness results) make them but too apt to overlook the true system of things; *viz.* Men in full health and opulence. This caution was necessary with regard to Society; but still more necessary with regard to Religion. Therefore he especially recommends the memory of it both to Clergy and Laity, when they preach or pray; because the preacher, who doth not consider the first Cause under this view, as a Being consulting the good of the whole, must needs give a very unworthy idea of him; and the supplicant, who prayeth as one not related to a whole, or as disregarding the happiness of it, will not only pray in vain, but offend his Maker by an impious attempt to counterwork his dispensation.

VER. 3. — *superfluous health,*] Immoderate labour and study are the great impairers of health: They, whose station sets them above both, must needs have an abundance of health, which, not being employed in the common service, but wasted in luxury, the Poet properly calls a *superfluity*.

VER. 4. — *impudence of wealth.*] Because *wealth* pretends to be wisdom, wit, learning, honesty, and, in short, all the virtues in their turns.

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EP. III. ESSAY ON MAN. 59

Look round our world ; behold the chain of Love
Combining all below and all above.

See plastic Nature working to this end,

The single atoms each to other tend, 10

Attract, attracted to, the next in place

Form'd and impell'd its neighbour to embrace.

See Matter next, with various life endu'd,

Prefs to one centre still, the gen'ral Good.

See dying vegetables life sustain, 15

See life dissolving vegetate again :

All forms that perish other forms supply,

(By turns we catch the vital breath, and die)

Like bubbles on the sea of Matter borne,

They rise, they break, and to that sea return. 20

Nothing is foreign ; Parts relate to whole ;

One all-extending, all-preserving Soul

NOTES.

VER. 12. *Form'd and impell'd, &c.*] To make Matter so cohere as to fit it for the uses intended by its Creator, a proper *configuration* of its insensible parts, is as necessary as that quality so equally and universally conferred upon it, called *Attraction*. To express the first part of this thought, our Author says *form'd*, and to express the latter, *impell'd*.

VER. 22. *One all-extending, all-preserving soul.*] Which, in the language of Sir Isaac Newton, is, "Deus omnium præsens est, non per virtutem solam, sed etiam per substantiam: nam virtus sine substantia subsistere non potest." *Newt. Princ. schol. gen. sub fin.*

Connects each being, greatest with the least ;
 Made Beast in aid of Man, and Man of Beast ;
 All serv'd, all serving : Nothing stands alone ; 25
 The chain holds on, and where it ends, unknown.

Has God, thou fool ! work'd solely for thy good,
 Thy joy, thy pastime, thy attire, thy food ?
 Who for thy table feeds the wanton fawn,
 For him as kindly spread the flow'ry lawn : 30
 Is it for thee the lark ascends and sings ?
 Joy tunes his voice, joy elevates his wings.
 Is it for thee the linnet pours his throat ?
 Loves of his own and raptures swell the note.
 The bounding steed you pompously bestride, 35
 Shares with his lord the pleasure and the pride.
 Is thine alone the seed that strews the plain ?
 The birds of Heav'n shall vindicate their grain.
 Thine the full harvest of the golden year ?
 Part pays, and justly, the deserving steer : 40
 The hog, that plows not nor obeys thy call,
 Lives on the labours of this Lord of all.

NOTES.

VER. 23. *Greatest with the least ;*] As acting more strongly and immediately in beasts, whose instinct is plainly an external reason ; which made an old school-man say, with great elegance, “ Deus est anima brutorum.”

In this 'tis God directs —

EP. II.
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Know, Nature's children all divide her care;
 The fur that warms a monarch, warm'd a bear.
 While Man exclaims, "See all things for my use!" 45
 "See man for mine!" replies a pamper'd goose:
 And just as short of Reason He must fall,
 Who thinks all made for one, not one for all.
 Grant that the pow'rful still the weak controul;
 Be Man the Wit and Tyrant of the whole: 50
 Nature that Tyrant checks; He only knows,
 And helps, another creature's wants and woes.

VARIATIONS.

After ver. 46. in the former Editions.

What care to tend, to lodge, to cram, to treat him,
 All this he knew; but not that 'twas to eat him.
 As far as goose could judge, he reason'd right;
 But as to man, mistook the matter quite.

NOTES.

VER. 45. *See all things for my use.*] On the contrary the wise man hath said, *The Lord hath made all things for himself.* Prov. xvi. 4.

VER. 50. *Be Man the Wit and Tyrant of the whole.*] Alluding to the witty system of that Philosopher, which made Animals mere Machines, insensible of pain or pleasure; and so encouraged Men in the exercise of that Tyranny over their fellow-creatures, consequent on such a principle.

VER. 51. *Nature that Tyrant checks.*] I grant, indeed, says the Poet, that Man affects to be the Wit and Tyrant of the whole, and would fain shake off

Say, will the falcon, stooping from above,
 Smit with her varying plumage, spare the dove?
 Admires the jay the insect's gilded wings? 55
 Or hears the hawk when Philomela sings?
 Man cares for all: to birds he gives his woods,
 To beasts his pastures, and to fish his floods;
 For some his int'rest prompts him to provide,
 For more his pleasure, yet for more his pride: 60

NOTES.

— that chain of love,

Combining all below and all above :

But Nature, even by the very gift of Reason, checks this Tyrant. For Reason endowing Man with the ability of setting together the memory of the past, with his conjectures about the future; and past misfortunes making him apprehensive of more to come, this disposeth him to pity and relieve others in a state of suffering. And the passion growing habitual, naturally extendeth its effect to all that have a sense of suffering. Now as brutes have neither Man's Reason, nor his inordinate Self-love, to draw them from the system of Benevolence: So they wanted not, and therefore have not, this human sympathy of another's misery. By which passion, we see those qualities, in Man, balance one another; and so retain him in that general Order, in which Providence hath placed its whole creation. But this is not all; Man's interest, amusement, vanity, and luxury, tie him still closer to the system of benevolence, by obliging him to provide for the support of other animals; and though it be, for the most part, only to devour them with the greater guilt, yet this does not abate the proper happiness of the animals so preserved, to whom Providence hath not imparted the useless knowledge of their end.

All feed on one vain Patron, and enjoy
 Th' extensive blessing of his luxury,
 That very life his learned hunger craves,
 He saves from famine, from the savage saves;
 Nay, feasts the animal he dooms his feast, 65
 And, 'till he ends the being, makes it blest;
 Which sees no more the stroke, or feels the pain,
 Than favour'd Man by touch ethereal slain.
 The creature had his feast of life before;
 Thou too must perish, when thy feast is o'er! 70
 To each unthinking being, Heav'n a friend,
 Gives not the uselefs knowledge of its end:
 To Man imparts it; but with such a view
 As, while he dreads it, makes him hope it too;
 The hour conceal'd, and so remote the fear, 75
 Death still draws nearer, never seeming near.
 Great standing miracle! that Heav'n assign'd
 As only thinking thing this turn of mind.
 II. Whether with Reason, or with Instinct blest,
 All know, all enjoy that pow'r which suits them best; 80
 To blifs alike by that direction tend,
 And find the means proportion'd to their end.

NOTES.

VER. 68. *Than favour'd Man, &c*] Several of the an-
 tients, and many of the Orientals since, esteemed those
 who were struck by lightning as sacred persons, and the
 particular favourites of Heaven. P.

Say, where full Instinct is th' unerring guide,
 What Pope or Council can they need beside?
 Reason, however able, cool at best,
 Cares not for service, or but serves when prest,
 Stays till we call, and then not often near;
 But honest Instinct comes a Volunteer,
 Sure never to o'er-shoot, but just to hit;
 While still too wide or short is human Wit;
 Sure by quick Nature happiness to gain,
 Which heavier Reason labours at in vain.
 This too serves always, Reason never long;
 One must go right, the other may go wrong.
 See then the acting and comparing pow'rs
 One in their nature, which are two in ours;
 And Reason raise o'er Instinct as you can,
 In this 'tis God directs, in that 'tis Man.

Who taught the nations of the field and wood
 To shun their poison, and to chuse their food?
 Prescient, the tides or tempests to withstand,
 Build on the wave, or arch beneath the sand?

VARIATIONS.

After ver. 84. in the MS.

While Man, with op'ning views of various ways
 Confounded, by the aid of knowledge strays:
 Too weak to chuse, yet chusing still in haste,
 One moment gives the pleasure and distaste.

Who made the spider parallels design,
 Sure as De-moivre, without rule or line?

Who bid the stork, Columbus-like, explore 105
 Heav'ns not his own, and worlds unknown before?

Who calls the council, states the certain day,
 Who forms the phalanx, and who points the way?

III. God, in the nature of each being, founds
 Its proper bliss, and sets its proper bounds: 110

But as he fram'd a Whole, the Whole to bless,
 On mutual Wants built mutual Happiness:

So from the first, eternal ORDER ran,
 And creature link'd to creature, man to man.

Whate'er of life all-quick'ning æther keeps, 115
 Or breathes thro' air, or shoots beneath the deeps,

Or pours profuse on earth, one nature feeds
 The vital flame, and swells the genial feeds.

Not man alone, but all that roam the wood,
 Or wing the sky, or roll along the flood, 120

Each loves itself, but not itself alone,
 Each sex desires alike, 'till two are one.

For ends the pleasure with the fierce embrace;
 They love themselves a third time in their race.

Thus beast and bird their common charge attend,
 The mothers nurse it, and the fires defend; 126

The young dismiss'd to wander earth or air,
 There stops the Instinct, and there ends the care;

The link dissolves, each seeks a fresh embrace,
Another love succeeds, another race. 130

A longer care man's helpless kind demands;

That longer care contracts more lasting bands:

Reflection, Reason, still the ties improve,

At once extend the int'rest, and the love;

With choice we fix, with sympathy we burn; 135

Each virtue in each passion takes its turn;

And still new needs, new helps, new habits rise,

That graft benevolence on charities.

Still as one brood, and as another rose,

These nat'ral love maintain'd, habitual those: 140

The last, scarce ripen'd into perfect Man,

Saw helpless him from whom their life began:

Mem'ry and fore-cast just returns engage,

That pointed back to youth, this on to age;

While pleasure, gratitude, and hope, combin'd, 145

Still spread the int'rest, and preserv'd the kind.

IV. Nor think, in NATURE'S STATE they blindly

The state of Nature was the reign of God: [trod;

Self-love and social at her birth began,

Union the bond of all things, and of Man. 150

Pride then was not; nor Arts, that pride to aid;

Man walk'd with beast, joint tenant of the shade;

NOTES.

VER. 152. *Man walk'd with beast, joint tenant of the shade;*] The Poet still takes his imagery from Platonic

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EP. III. ESSAY ON MAN. 67

The same his table, and the same his bed ;
 No murder cloath'd him, and no murder fed,
 In the same temple, the resounding wood, 155
 All vocal beings hymn'd their equal God :

NOTES.

ideas for the reason given above. Plato had said from old tradition, that, during the golden age, and under the reign of Saturn, the primitive language then in use was common to man and beasts. Moral instructors took advantage of the popular sense of this tradition, to convey their precepts under those fables, which give speech to the whole brute creation. The naturalists understood the tradition to signify, that, in the first Ages, Men used inarticulate sounds, like beasts, to express their wants and sensations ; and that it was by slow degrees they came to the use of speech. This opinion was afterwards held by Lucretius, Diodorus Sic. and Gregory of Nyss.

VER. 156. *All vocal beings, &c.*] This may be well explained by a sublime passage of the psalmist, who, calling to mind the age of innocence, and full of the great ideas of those

——— Chains of Love,

Combining all below, and all above,
 Which to one point and to one center bring
 Beast, Man, or Angel, Servant, Lord, or King ;

breaks out into this rapturous and divine apostrophe, to call back the devious creation to its pristine rectitude (that very state our author describes above) : " Praise the Lord, all his angels ; praise him, all ye hosts. Praise ye him, sun and moon ; praise him, all ye stars of light. Let them praise the name of the Lord, for he commanded, and they were created. Praise the Lord, from the earth, ye dragons, and all deeps ; fire and hail, snow and vapour, stormy wind fulfilling his word : Moun-

The shrine with gore unstain'd, with gold undrest,
 Unbrib'd, unbloody, stood the blameless priest:
 Heav'n's attribute was Universal Care,
 And man's prerogative to rule, but spare. 160

NOTES.

“ tains and all hills, fruitful trees and all cedars: *Bright*
 “ and all *cattle*, creeping things and flying fowl: *Kings of*
 “ the earth, and all people; *princes*, and all judges of
 “ the earth. Let them praise the name of the Lord
 “ for his name alone is excellent, his glory is above the
 “ earth and heaven.” *Psalms cxlviii.*

VER. 158. *Unbrib'd, unbloody, &c.*] *i. e.* The state described, from ver. 261 to 269, was not yet arrived. For then when superstition was become so extreme as to bribe the Gods with human sacrifices (see ver. 267.) Tyranny became necessitated to woo the priest for a favourable answer:

And play'd the God an engine on his foe.

VER. 159. *Heav'n's attribute, &c.*] The Poet supposes the truth of the Scripture account, that Man was created Lord of this inferior world (Ep. i. ver. 230.)

Subjected these to those, and all to thee.

What hath misled some to imagine him here fallen into contradiction, was, I suppose, such passages as these,

Ask for what end the heav'nly bodies shine, &c.

And again,

Has God, thou fool! work'd solely for thy good, &c.

But, in truth, this is so far from contradicting what is here said of man's prerogative, that it greatly confirms it, and the Scripture account concerning it. And because this matter has been mistaken, to the discredit of the Poet's religious sentiments, by readers, whom the conduct of certain licentious writers, treating this subject in an abusive way, hath rendered jealous and mistrustful, I shall endeavour to explain it. Scripture says, that Man was made

Ah! how unlike the man of times to come!

Of half that live the butcher and the tomb;
Who, foe to Nature, hears the gen'ral groan,
Murders their species, and betrays his own.

But just disease to luxury succeeds, 165
And ev'ry death its own avenger breeds;
The Fury-passions from that blood began,
And turn'd on Man a fiercer savage, Man.

See him from Nature rising slow to Art!
To copy Instinct then was Reason's part; 170
Thus then to Man the Voice of Nature spake—
"Go, from the Creatures thy instructions take:

NOTES.

Lord of All. But this Lord, become intoxicated with Pride, the common effect of sovereignty, erected himself, like more partial monarchs, into a tyrant. And as Tyranny consists in supposing *all* made for the use of *one*; he took those freedoms with all, that are consequent on such a principle. He soon began to consider the whole animal creation as his slaves rather than as his subjects; as being created for no use of their own, but for this only; and therefore treated them with the utmost barbarity: And not so content, to add insult to this cruelty, he endeavoured to philosophize himself into an opinion that animals were mere machines, insensible of pain or pleasure. Thus Man affected to be the *Wit* as well as *Tyrant* of the Whole: and it became one who adhered to the Scripture account of Man's dominion, to reprove this abuse of it, and to shew, that

Heav'n's attribute was Universal Care,
And Man's prerogative to rule, but spare.

VER. 171. *Thus then to Man, &c.*] The Poet represents

- “ Learn from the birds what food the thickets yield;
 “ Learn from the beasts the physic of the field;
 “ Thy arts of building from the bee receive; 175
 “ Learn of the mole to plow, the worm to weave;
 “ Learn of the little Nautilus to sail,
 “ Spread the thin oar, and catch the driving gale.

NOTES.

the invention of Arts as only lessons learnt of brute animals, guided by instinct, in order to humble human arrogance, and raise our idea of infinite wisdom. This he does in a *prosepopœia*, the most sublime that ever entered into the human imagination :

Thus then to man the Voice of Nature spake :

“ Go, from the creatures thy instructions take, &c.

“ And for those Arts mere Instinct could afford,

“ Be crown'd as Monarchs, or as Gods ador'd.”

VER. 173. *Learn from the birds, &c.*] It is a caution commonly practis'd among Navigators, when thrown upon a desert coast, and in want of refreshments, to observe what fruits have been touched by the Birds, and to venture on these without further hesitation.

VER. 174. *Learn from the beasts, &c.*] See Pliny's *Nat. Hist.* l. viii. c. 27. where several instances are given of Animals discovering the medicinal efficacy of herbs, by their own use of them, and pointing out to some operations in the art of healing by their own practice.

VER. 177 *Learn of the little Nautilus*] Oppian *Haliut.* lib. i. describes this fish in the following manner: “ They swim on the surface of the sea, on the back of their shells, which exactly resemble the hulk of a ship; they raise two feet like masts, and extend a membrane between, which serves as a sail; the other two feet they employ as oars at the side. They are usually seen in the Mediterranean.” P.

" Here too all forms of social union find,
 " And hence let Reason, late, instruct mankind : 180
 " Here subterranean works and cities see ;
 " There towns aërial on the waving tree.
 " Learn each small People's genius, policies,
 " The Ant's republic, and the realm of Bees :
 " How those in common all their wealth bestow, 185
 " And Anarchy without confusion know ;
 " And these for ever, tho' a Monarch reign,
 " Their sep'rate cells and properties maintain.
 " Mark what unvary'd laws preserve each state,
 " Laws wise as Nature, and as fix'd as Fate. 190
 " In vain thy Reason finer webs shall draw,
 " Entangle Justice in her net of Law,
 " And right, too rigid, harden into wrong ;
 " Still for the strong too weak, the weak too strong.
 " Yet go ! and thus o'er all the creatures sway, 195
 " Thus let the wiser make the rest obey ;
 " And for those Arts mere Instinct could afford,
 " Be crown'd as Monarchs, or as Gods ador'd."
 V. Great Nature spoke ; observant Men obey'd ;
 Cities were built, Societies were made : 200

VARIATIONS.

VER. 197. In the first Editions,

Who for those Arts they learnt of Brutes before,
 As Kings shall crown them, or as Gods adore.

Here rose one little state; another near
 Grew by like means, and join'd, thro' love or fear,
 Did here the trees with ruddier burdens bend,
 And there the streams in purer rills descend?
 What War could ravish, Commerce could bestow,
 And he return'd a friend, who came a foe. 206
 Converse and Love mankind might strongly draw,
 When Love was Liberty, and Nature Law.

VARIATIONS.

VER. 201. *Here rose one little state, &c.*] In the MS. thus,
 The Neighbours leagu'd to guard their common spot;
 And Love was Nature's dictate, Murder, not.
 For want alone each animal contends;
 Tigers with Tigers, that remov'd, are friends.
 Plain Nature's wants, the common mother crown'd,
 She pour'd her acorns, herbs, and streams around.
 No Treasure then for rapine to invade,
 What need to fight for sun-shine or for shade?
 And half the cause of contest was remov'd,
 When beauty could be kind to all who lov'd.

NOTES.

VER. 196. *Observant Man obey'd;*] The epithet is beautiful, as signifying both obedience to the voice of Nature, and attention to the lessons of the animal creation.

VER. 208. *When Love was Liberty,*] *i. e.* When men had no need to guard their native liberty from their governor by civil pactions; the love which each master of a family had for those under his care being their best security.

Thus States were form'd; the name of King unknown,

'Till common int'rest plac'd the sway in one. 210

'Twas VIRTUE ONLY (or in arts or arms,

Diffusing blessings, or averting harms)

The same which in a Sire the Sons obey'd,

A Prince the Father of a People made.

VI. 'Till then, by Nature crown'd, each Patriarch fate,

215

King, priest, and parent of his growing state;

NOTES.

VER. 209. *Thus states were form'd;*] This is said in confutation of that idle hypothesis which pretends, that God conferred the regal title on the fathers of families; from whence men, when they had instituted Society, were to fetch their Governors. On the contrary, our author shews, that a King was unknown, 'till common interest, which led men to institute civil government, led them at the same time to institute a governor. However, that it is true that the same wisdom or valour, which gained regal obedience from sons to the sire, procured kings a paternal authority, and made them considered as fathers of their people. Which probably was the original (and, while mistaken, continues to be the chief support) of that slavish error: antiquity representing its earliest monarchs under the idea of a common father, *πατήρ ἀνδρῶν*. Afterwards indeed they became a kind of foster-fathers, *ποιμένα λαῶν*, as Homer calls one of them: 'Till at length they began to devour that flock they had been so long accustomed to shear: and, as Plutarch says of Cecrops, *ἐκ χειρῶν βασιλείως ἀγρίων καὶ δρακονίδῳ γενόμενον ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΝ*.

VER. 211. *'Twas Virtue only,* [S.c.] Our author hath good authority for this account of the origin of kingship. Ari-

On him, their second Providence, they hung,
 Their law his eye, their oracle his tongue.
 He from the wond'ring furrow call'd the food,
 Taught to command the fire, controul the flood, 220
 Draw forth the monsters of th' abyfs profound,
 Or fetch th' aërial eagle to the ground.
 'Till drooping, sick'ning, dying they began
 Whom they rever'd as God to mourn as Man:
 Then, looking up from fire to fire, explor'd 225
 One great First Father, and that first ador'd.
 Or plain tradition that this All begun,
 Convey'd unbroken faith from fire to son ;
 The Worker from the work distinct was known,
 And simple Reason never sought but one: 230

NOTES.

Stotle assures us, that it was Virtue only, or in arts or arms:
*Καθίσταται βασιλεύς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιμικῶν κατ' ὑπεροχὴν ἀρετῆς, ἢ
 ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἢ κατ' ὑπεροχὴν τοιαύτου γένους.*

VER. 219. *He from the wond'ring furrow, &c.] i. e. He
 subdued the intractability of all the four elements, and made
 them subservient to the use of Man.*

VER. 225. *Then, looking up, &c.] The Poet here maketh
 their more serious attention to Religion to have arisen, not
 from their gratitude amidst abundance, but from their
 helplessness in distress; by shewing that, during the former
 state, they rested in second causes, the immediate authors
 of their blessings, whom they rever'd as God; but that, in
 the other, they reason'd up to the First:*

Then; looking up from fire to fire, &c.

EP. III.
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Ere Wit oblique had broke that steddy light,
 Man, like his Maker, saw that all was right ;
 To Virtue, in the paths of Pleasure trod,
 And own'd a Father when he own'd a God.
 LOVE all the faith, and all th' allegiance then ; 235
 For Nature knew no right divine in Men,
 No ill could fear in God ; and understood
 A sov'reign being but a sov'reign good.
 True faith, true policy, united ran,
 That was but love of God, and this of Man. 240
 Who first taught souls enslav'd, and realms undone,
 Th' enormous faith of many made for one ;

NOTES.

This, I am afraid, is but too true a representation of human nature.

VER. 231. *Ere Wit oblique, &c.*] A beautiful allusion to the effects of the prismatic glass on the rays of light.

VER. 241. *Who first taught souls, enslav'd, &c.*] The Poet informs us, agreeably to his exact knowledge of Antiquity, that it was the Politician, and not the Priest (as our illiterate tribe of Free-thinkers would make us believe) who first corrupted Religion. Secondly, That the Superstition he brought in was not invented by him, as an engine to play upon others (as the dreaming Atheist feigns, who would thus miserably account for the origin of Religion) but was a trap he first fell into himself.

VER. 242. *Th' enormous faith, &c.*] In this Aristotle placeth the difference between a King and a Tyrant, that the first supposeth himself made for the People ; the other that the People are made for him : Βεβέλκει δ' ὁ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ἑαυτοῦ φύλαξ, ὅπως οἱ μὲν κεκλημένοι τὰς εὐσίας μηδὲν ἀδικον πάχουσιν, ὁ δὲ δῆμον μὴ ὑβρίζηται μηδὲν, ἢ οὐ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΣ πρὸς

Here fix'd the dreadful, there the blest, abodes; 255
 Fear made her Devils, and weak Hope her Gods;
 Gods partial, changeful, passionate, unjust,
 Whose attributes were Rage, Revenge, or Lust;
 Such as the souls of cowards might conceive,
 And, form'd like tyrants, tyrants would believe. 260
 Zeal then, not charity, became the guide;
 And hell was built on spite, and heav'n on pride.
 Then sacred seem'd th' etherial vault no more;
 Altars grew marble then, and reek'd with gore:
 Then first the Flamen tasted living food; 265
 Next his grim idol smear'd with human blood;
 With heav'n's own thunders shook the world below,
 And play'd the God an engine on his foe.

NOTES.

VER. 257. *Gods partial, changeful, &c.*] The ancient Pagan Gods are here very exactly described. This fact is a convincing evidence of the truth of that original, which the Poet giveth to Superstition; for if these phantasms were first raised in the imagination of Tyrants, they must needs have the qualities here assigned to them. For Force being the Tyrant's Virtue, and Luxury his Happiness, the attributes of his God would of course be Revenge and Lust; in a word, the anti-type of himself. But there was another, and more substantial cause, of the resemblance between a Tyrant and a Pagan God; and that was the making *Gods of Conquerors*, as the Poet says, and so canonizing a tyrant's vices with his person.

VER. 262.—*And heav'n on pride.*] This might be very well said of those times, when no one was content to go to heaven without being received there on the footing of a God.

So drives Self-love, thro' just, and thro' unjust,
 To one Man's pow'r, ambition, lucre, lust : 270
 The same Self-love, in all, becomes the cause
 Of what restrains him, Government and Laws.
 For, what one likes if others like as well,
 What serves one will, when many wills rebel?
 How shall he keep, what, sleeping or awake, 275
 A weaker may surprize, a stronger take?
 His safety must his liberty restrain :
 All join to guard what each desires to gain.
 Forc'd into virtue thus by Self-defence,
 Ev'n Kings learnt justice and benevolence: 280
 Self-love forsook the path it first pursu'd,
 And found the private in the public good:

'Twas then, the studious head or gen'rous mind,
 Follow'r of God or friend of human-kind,
 Poet or Patriot, rose but to restore 285
 The Faith and Moral, Nature gave before;
 Relum'd her ancient light, not kindled new;
 If not God's image, yet his shadow drew :

NOTES.

VER. 283. *'Twas then, &c*] The Poet seemeth here to mean the polite and flourishing age of Greece; and those benefactors to mankind, which he had principally in view, were SOCRATES and ARISTOTLE; who, of all the pagan world, spoke best of God, and wrote best of Government.

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EP. III

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Taught Pow'r's due use to People and to Kings;
 Taught nor to slack, nor strain its tender strings, 290
 The less, or greater, set so justly true,
 That touching one must strike the other too;
 Till jarring int'rests of themselves create
 Th' according music of a well-mix'd State.
 Such is the World's great harmony, that springs 29
 From Order, Union, full Consent of things :

NOTES.

VER. 295. *Such is the World's great harmony, &c.*] A harmony very different from the *pre-establiſhed harmony* of the celebrated Leibnitz, which fixeth us in a Fatality destructive of all Religion and Morality. Yet hath the Poet been accused of espousing that impious whimſey. The *pre-establiſhed harmony* was built upon, and is an outrageous extension of, a conception of Plato, who, combating the atheistical objections about the *origin of Evil*, employs this argument in the defence of Providence: "That amongst
 "an infinite number of possible worlds in God's idea,
 "this, which he hath created and brought into being, and
 "which admits of a mixture of Evil, is the best. But if
 "the best, then Evil consequently is partial, compara-
 "tively small, and tendeth to the greater perfection of the
 "whole." This Principle is espoused and supported by Mr. Pope with all the power of reason and poetry. But neither was Plato a Fatalist, nor is there any fatalism in the argument. As to the truth of the notion, that is another question; and how far it clearth up the very difficult controversy about the origin of Evil, is still another. That it is a full solution of all difficulties, I cannot think, for reasons too long to be given in this place. Perhaps we shall never have a full solution in this world; and it may be no great matter though we have not, as we are demon-

Where small and great, where weak and mighty,
made

To serve, not suffer, strengthen, not invade;
More pow'ful each as needful to the rest,
And, in proportion as it blesses, blest; 300
Draw to one point, and to one centre bring
Beast, Man, or Angel, Servant, Lord, or King.

For Forms of Government let fools contest;
Whate'er is best administered is best:

NOTES.

frably certain of the moral attributes of the Deity. However, Mr. Pope may be justified in receiving and enforcing this Platonic notion, as it hath been adopted by the most celebrated and orthodox divines both of the ancient and modern church.

VER. 303. *For Forms of Government let Fools contest;*] The seasonableness of this reproof will appear evident enough to those who know, that mad disputes about Liberty and Prerogative had once well-nigh overturned our Constitution; and that others about Mystery and Church-Authority had almost destroyed the very spirit of our Religion.

VER. *ib.* *For Forms of Government, &c.*] These fine lines have been strangely misunderstood: the author, against his own express words, against the plain sense of his system, has been conceived to mean, That all Governments and all Religions were, as to their forms and objects, indifferent. But as this wrong judgment proceeded from ignorance of the reason of the reproof, as explained above, that explanation is alone sufficient to rectify the mistake. But the reader will not be displeased to see the Poet's own apology, as I find it written in the year 1740, in his own hand, in the margin of a book, where he found these two celebrated lines misapplied; "The author of

For Modes of Faith let graceless zealots fight; 305
His can't be wrong whose life is in the right:

NOTES.

"these lines was far from meaning, that no one form of Government is, in itself, better than another (as, that mixed or limited Monarchy, for example, is not preferable to absolute) but that no form of Government, however excellent or preferable, in itself, can be sufficient to make a people happy unless it be administered with integrity. On the contrary, the best sort of Government, when the *form* of it is preserved, and the *administration* corrupt, is most dangerous."

VER. 305. *For Modes of Faith, &c.*] To suppose the Poet to mean, that *all Religions* are indifferent, is an equally wrong as well as uncharitable suspicion. Mr. Pope, tho' his subject, in this *Essay on Man*, confineth him to Natural religion (his purpose being to vindicate God's natural dispensations to Mankind against the Atheist) yet giveth frequent intimations of a more sublime dispensation, and even of the necessity of it; particularly in his second epistle (ver. 149, &c.) where he confesseth the weakness and insufficiency of human Reason.

And in his fourth epistle, where, speaking of the good Man, the favourite of Heaven, he saith,

For him alone *Hope* leads from goal to goal,
And opens still, and opens on his soul;
'Till lengthen'd on to *Faith*, and unconfin'd,
It pours the bliss that fills up all the mind.

But Natural Religion never lengthen'd Hope on to Faith; nor did any Religion, but the Christian, ever conceive that Faith could fill the Mind with Happiness.

Lastly, In this very epistle, and in this very place, speaking of the great Restorers of the *Religion of Nature*, he in-

In Faith and Hope the world will disagree,
But all Mankind's concern is Charity :

NOTES.

timates that they could only draw God's *shadow*, not his *image* :

Relum'd her ancient light, not kindled new,
If not God's Image, yet his shadow drew :

as reverencing that truth, which telleth us, this discovery was reserved for the *glorious Gospel of Christ, who is the image of God*, 2 Cor. iv. 4.

VER. 305. *For Modes of Faith let graceless zealots fight;*] These latter Ages have seen so many scandalous contentions for *Modes of Faith*, to the violation of Christian Charity, and dishonour of sacred Scripture, that it is not at all strange they should become the object of so benevolent and wise an Author's resentment.

But that which he here seemed to have more particularly in his eye, was the long and mischievous squabble between W—D and JACKSON, on a point confessedly above Reason, and amongst those adorable mysteries, which it is the honour of our Religion to find unfathomable. In this by the weight of answers and replies, redoubled upon one another without mercy, they made so profound a progress, that the *One* proved, nothing hindered in Nature, but that the *Son might have been the Father*; and the *Other*, that nothing hindered in Grace, but that *the Son may be a meer Creature*. But if, instead of throwing so many Greek Fathers at one another's heads, they had but chanced to reflect on the sense of one Greek word, ΑΙΕΙΠΙΑ, that it signifies both INFINITY and IGNORANCE, this single *equivocation* might have saved them ten thousand, which they expended in carrying on the controversy. However those *Mists that magnified the Scene*, enlarged the Character of the

EP. II.

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All must be false that thwart this One great End;
 And all of God, that bleſs Mankind or mend. 310

NOTES.

Combatants: and no body expecting *common* ſenſe on a ſubject where we have no ideas, the defects of dulneſs diſappeared, and its advantages (for, advantages it has) were all provided for.

The worſt is, ſuch kind of Writers ſeldom know when to have done. For writing themſelves up into the ſame deluſion with their Readers, they are apt to venture out into the more open paths of Literature, where their reputation, made out of that ſtuff, which Lucian calls *ἑκὸς ἐλάχρον*, preſently falls from them, and their nakedneſs appears. And thus it fared with our two Worthies. The World, which muſt have always ſomething to amuſe it, was now in good time grown weary of its play-things, and caught at a new object that promiſed them more agreeable entertainment. Tindal, a kind of Baſtard-Socrates, had brought our ſpeculations from *Heaven* to *Earth*; and, under the pretence of advancing the Antiquity of Chriſtianity, laboured to undermine its original. This was a controverſy that required another management. Clear ſenſe, ſevere reaſoning, a thorough knowledge of profane and ſacred Antiquity, and an intimate acquaintance with human Nature, were the qualities proper for ſuch as engaged in this Subject. A very unpromiſing adventure for theſe metaphyſical nurſlings, bred up under the ſhade of chimeras. Yet they would needs venture out. What they got by it was only to be once well laughed at, and then forgotten. But one odd circumſtance deſerves to be remembered; though they wrote not, we may be ſure, in concert, yet each attacked his Adverſary at the ſame time, ſuſtained upon him in the ſame place, and mumbled him with juſt the ſame toothleſs rage. But the ill ſucceſs of

Man, like the gen'rous vine, supported lives ;
 The strength he gains is from th' embrace he gives,
 On their own Axis as the Planets run,
 Yet make at once their circle round the Sun ;
 So two consistent motions act the Soul ; 315
 And one regards Itself, and one the Whole.

NOTES.

this escape soon brought them to themselves. The one made a fruitless effort to revive the old game, in a discourse on *The importance of the doctrine of the Trinity*; and the Other has been ever since, till very lately, rambling in SPACE.

This short history, as insignificant as the subjects of it are, may not be altogether unuseful to posterity. Divines may learn, by these examples, to avoid the mischiefs done to Religion and Literature, through the affectation of being wise above what is written, and knowing beyond what can be understood.

VER. 307. *In faith and hope, &c.] And now abide faith, hope, and charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity. 1 Cor. xiii. 13.*

VER. 311. *Man, like the gen'rous vine, &c.]* Having thus largely considered Man in his social capacity, the Poet, in order to fix a momentous truth in the mind of his reader, concludes the epistle in recapitulating the *two Principles*, which concur to the support of this part of his character, namely, SELF-LOVE and SOCIAL; and shewing, that they are only two different motions of the appetite to Good; by which the Author of Nature hath enabled Man to find his own happiness in the happiness of the Whole. This he illustrates with a thought as sublime as that general harmony he describes: For he hath the art of converting poetical ornaments into philosophic reasoning; and of improving a simile into an analogical argument:

Thus God and Nature link'd the gen'ral frame,
And bade Self-love and Social be the same.

NOTES.

On their own Axis as the Planets run,
Yet make at once their circle round the Sun ;
So two consistent motions act the Soul ;
And one regards Itself, and one the Whole.

Thus God and Nature link'd the gen'ral frame,
And bade Self-love and Social be the same.

EPISTLE IV.

OH HAPPINESS! our being's end and aim!
 Good, Pleasure, Ease, Content! whate'er thy
 name:

That something still which prompts th' eternal fight,
 For which we bear to live, or dare to die,

VARIATIONS.

VER. 1. *Oh Happiness, &c.*] In the MS. thus:

Oh Happiness! to which we all aspire,
 Wing'd with strong hope, and born by full desire;
 That ease, for which in want, in wealth we fight;
 That ease, for which we labour and we die.

NOTES.

EP. IV. The two foregoing epistles having considered Man with regard to the *Means* (that is, in all his relations, whether as an Individual, or a Member of Society) this last comes to consider him with regard to the *End*, that is, Happiness.

It opens with an Invocation to Happiness, in the manner of the ancient poets, who, when destitute of a patron-god, applied to the Muse, and, if she was engaged, took up with any simple Virtue next at hand, to inspire and prosper their undertakings. This was the ancient Invocation, which few modern poets have had the art to imitate with any degree either of spirit or decorum; but our author hath contrived to make it subservient to the method and reasoning of his philosophic composition. I will endeavour to explain so uncommon a beauty.

Ep. IV

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Which still so near us, yet beyond us lies, 5
O'erlook'd, seen double, by the fool, and wife.

NOTES.

It is to be observed, that the Pagan deities had each their several *names* and *places of abode*, with some of which they were supposed to be more delighted than others, and consequently to be then most propitious when invoked by the favourite name and place: Hence we find, the Hymns of Homer, Orpheus, and Callimachus to be chiefly employed in reckoning up the several names and places of abode by which the patron God was distinguished. Our Poet hath made these two circumstances serve to introduce his subject. His purpose is to write of Happiness; method therefore requires that he first define what men mean by Happiness, and this he does in the ornament of a poetic Invocation; in which the several names, that *happiness* goes by, are enumerated.

Oh Happiness! our being's end and aim,
Good, Pleasure, Ease, Content! whate'er thy Name.

After the Definition, that which follows next, is the proposition, which is, *that human Happiness consists not in external Advantages, but in Virtue*. For the subject of this epistle is the detecting the *false* notions of Happiness, and settling and explaining the *true*; and this the Poet lays down in the next sixteen lines. Now the enumeration of the several *situations* in which Happiness is supposed to reside, is a summary of *false* Happiness, placed in *Externals*:

Plant of celestial seed! if dropt below,
Say in what mortal soil thou deign'st to grow.
Fair op'ning to some Court's propitious shine,
Or deep with Di'monds in the flaming mine?
Twin'd with the wreaths Parnassian laurels yield,
Or reap'd in iron harvests of the field?

Plant of celestial seed ! if dropt below,
 Say, in what mortal soil thou deign'ft to grow ?
 Fair op'ning to some Court's propitious shine,
 Or deep with Di'monds in the flaming mine ? 10
 Twin'd with the wreaths Parnassian laurels yield,
 Or reap'd in iron harvests of the field ?
 Where grows?—where grows it not? If vain our toil,
 We ought to blame the culture, not the soil :
 Fix'd to no spot is happiness sincere, 15
 'Tis nowhere to be found, or ev'ry where :
 'Tis never to be bought, but always free,
 And fled from monarchs, St. John ! dwells with thee.
 Ask of the Learn'd the way ? The Learn'd are
 blind ;
 This bids to serve, and that to shun mankind ; 20

NOTES.

The six remaining lines deliver the *true* notion of Happiness to be in Virtue. Which is summ'd up in these two :

Fix'd to no spot is Happiness sincere,
 'Tis no where to be found, or ev'ry where.

The Poet having thus defined his terms, and laid down his proposition, proceeds to the support of his Thesis ; the various arguments of which make up the body of the Epistle.

VER. 6. *O'erlook'd, seen double,*] *O'erlook'd* by those who place Happiness in any thing exclusive of Virtue ; *seen double* by those who admit any thing else to have a share with Virtue in procuring Happiness ; these being the two general mistakes that this Epistle is employed in correcting.

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Some place the bliss in action, some in ease,
 Those call it pleasure, and contentment these ;
 Some sunk to Beasts, find pleasure end in pain ;
 Some swell'd to Gods, confess ev'n Virtue vain ;
 Or indolent, to each extreme they fall, 25
 To trust in ev'ry thing, or doubt of all.

Who thus define it, say they more or less
 Than this, that Happiness is Happiness ?

NOTES.

VER. 21, 23. *Some place the bliss in action,—Some sunk to beasts, &c.*] 1. Those who place Happiness, or the *summum bonum*, in Pleasure, ἡδονή, such as the Cyrenaic sect, called, on that account, the Hedonic. 2. Those who place it in a certain tranquillity or calmness of mind, which they call εὐθυμία, such as the Democratic sect. 3. The Epicurean. 4. The Stoic. 5. The Protagorean, which held that Man was πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον, *the measure of all things* ; for that all things which appear to him are, and those things which appear not to any Man are not ; so that every imagination or opinion of every Man was true. 6. The Sceptic ; whose absolute Doubt is, with great judgment, said to be the effect of Indolence, as well as the absolute Trust of the Protagorean : For the same dread of labour attending the search of truth, which makes the Protagorean presume it to be always at hand, makes the Sceptic conclude it is never to be found. The only difference is, that the laziness of the one is desponding, and the laziness of the other sanguine ; yet both can give it a good name, and call it *Happiness*.

VER. 23. *Some sunk to Beasts, &c.*] These four lines added in the last Edition, as necessary to complete the summary of the false pursuits after Happiness amongst the Greek philosophers.

Take Nature's path, and mad Opinion's leave ;
 All states can reach it, and all heads conceive ; 30
 Obvious her goods, in no extreme they dwell ;
 There needs but thinking right, and meaning well ;
 And mourn our various portions as we please,
 Equal is Common Sense, and Common Ease.

Remember, Man, " the Universal Cause 35
 " Acts not by partial, but by gen'ral laws ;"
 And makes what Happiness we justly call
 Subsist, not in the good of one, but all.

There's not a blessing Individuals find,
 But some way leans and hearkens to the kind, 40
 No Bandit fierce, no Tyrant mad with pride,
 No cavern'd Hermit rests self-satisfy'd :
 Who most to shun or hate mankind pretend,
 Seek an admirer, or would fix a friend :
 Abstract what others feel, what others think, 45
 All pleasures sicken, and all glories sink :
 Each has his share ; and who would more obtain,
 Shall find, the pleasure pays not half the pain.

ORDER is Heav'n's first law ; and this confess,
 Some are, and must be, greater than the rest, 50

NOTES.

VER. 49. *Order is Heav'n's first law ;*] *i. e.* The first law made by God relates to Order ; which is a beautiful allusion to the Scripture-history of the Creation, when God first appeas'd the disorders of Chaos, and separated the light from the darkness.

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EP. IV. ESSAY ON MAN. 91

More rich, more wise; but who infers from hence
 That such are happier, shocks all common sense.
 Heav'n to Mankind impartial we confess,
 If all are equal in their Happiness:
 But mutual wants this happiness increase; 55
 All Nature's difference keeps all Nature's peace.
 Condition, circumstance is not the thing;
 Bliss is the same in subject or in king,
 In who obtain defence, or who defend,
 In him who is, or him who finds a friend: 60
 Heav'n breathes thro' ev'ry member of the whole
 One common blessing, as one common soul.
 But fortune's gifts if each alike possess,
 And each were equal, must not all contest?
 If then to all Men Happiness was meant,
 God in externals could not place Content.

VARIATIONS.

After ver. 52. in the MS.

Say not, "Heav'n's here profuse, there poorly saves,
 "And for one Monarch makes a thousand slaves."
 You'll find, when Causes and their Ends are known,
 'Twas for the thousand Heav'n has made that one.

After ver. 66. in the MS.

'Tis peace of mind alone is at a stay:
 The rest mad fortune gives or takes away.
 All other bliss by accident's debarr'd;
 But Virtue's, in the instant, a reward;
 In hardest trials operates the best,
 And more is relish'd as the more distress.

Fortune her gifts may variously dispose,
 And these be happy call'd, unhappy those ;
 But Heav'n's just balance equal will appear,
 While those are plac'd in Hope, and these in Fear: 70
 Not present good or ill, the joy or curse,
 But future views of better, or of worse.

Oh sons of earth ! attempt ye still to rise,
 By mountains pil'd on mountains, to the skies ?
 Heav'n still with laughter the vain toil surveys, 75
 And buries madmen in the heaps they raise.

Know, all the good that individuals find,
 Or God and Nature meant to mere Mankind,
 Reason's whole pleasure, all the joys of Sense,
 Lie in three words, Health, Peace, and Competence.
 But Health consists with Temperance alone ; 81
 And Peace, oh Virtue ! Peace is all thy own.

NOTES.

VER. 79. *Reason's whole pleasure, &c.*] This is a beautiful periphrasis for Happiness ; for all we feel of good is by *sensation* and *reflexion*.

VER. 82. *And Peace, &c.*] *Conscious Innocence* (says the Poet) is the only source of *internal Peace* ; and *known Innocence*, of *external* ; therefore *Peace* is the sole issue of *Virtue* ; or, in his own emphatic words, *Peace* is all *thy own* ; a conclusive observation in his argument, which stands thus : Is Happiness rightly placed in *Externals* ? No ; for it consists in *Health, Peace, and Competence*. *Health and Competence* are the product of *Temperance*, and *Peace* of perfect *Innocence*.

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EP. IV. ESSAY ON MAN. 93

The good or bad the gifts of Fortune gain ;
But these less taste them, as they worse obtain.
Say, in pursuit of profit or delight, 85
Who risk the most, that take wrong means or right ?
Of Vice or Virtue, whether blest or curst,
Which meets contempt, or which compassion first ?
Count all th' advantage prosp'rous Vice attains,
'Tis but what Virtue flies from and disdains : 90
And grant the bad what happiness they wou'd,
One they must want, which is to pass for good.
Oh blind to truth, and God's whole scheme below,
Who fancy Blis to Vice, to Virtue Woe !

VARIATIONS.

After ver. 92. in the MS.

Let sober Moralists correct their speech,
No bad man's happy : he is great, or rich.

NOTES.

VER. 93. *Oh blind to truth, &c.*] Our Author having thus largely confuted the mistake of Happiness's consisting in externals, proceeds to expose the terrible consequences of such an opinion on the sentiments and practice of all sorts of men, making the Dissolute impious and atheistical ; the Religious uncharitable and intolerant ; and the Good restless and discontent. For when it is once taken for granted, that Happiness consists in externals, it is immediately seen, that ill men are often more happy than good ; which sets all conditions on objecting to the ways of Providence : and some even on rashly attempting to rectify its dispensations, though by the violation of all Law, divine and human.

Who sees and follows that great scheme the best, 95
 Best knows the blessing, and will most be blest;
 But fools the Good alone, unhappy call,
 For ills or accidents that chance to all.
 See FALKLAND dies, the virtuous and the just!
 See god-like TURENNE prostrate on the dust! 100
 See SIDNEY bleeds amid the martial strife!
 Was this their Virtue, or Contempt of Life?
 Say, was it Virtue, more tho' Heav'n ne'er gave,
 Lamented DIGBY! sunk thee to the grave?
 Tell me, if Virtue made the Son expire, 105
 Why, full of days and honour, lives the Sire?
 Why drew Marseilles' good Bishop purer breath,
 When Nature sicken'd, and each gale was death?
 Or why so long (in life if long can be)
 Lent Heav'n a parent to the poor and me? 110

NOTES.

VER. 100. *See god-like Turenne.*] This epithet has a peculiar justness; the great man to whom it is applied, not being distinguished, from other generals, for any of his superior qualities, so much as for his providential care of those whom he led to war; which was so uncommon, that his chief purpose, in taking on himself the command of armies, seems to have been the preservation of mankind. In this *god-like* care he was more distinguishably employed throughout the whole course of that famous campaign in which he lost his life.

VER. 110. *Lent Heav'n a parent, &c.*] This last instance of the Poet's illustration of the ways of Providence, the

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What makes all physical or moral ill ?
 There deviates Nature, and here wanders Will.
 God sends not ill ; if rightly understood,
 Or partial Ill is universal Good,
 Or change admits, or Nature lets it fall ; 115
 Short, and but rare, till Man improv'd it all.
 We just as wisely might of Heav'n complain
 That righteous Abel was destroy'd by Cain,
 As that the virtuous son is ill at ease
 When his lewd father gave the dire disease. 120
 Think we, like some weak Prince, th'Eternal Cause,
 Prone for his fav'rites to reverse his laws ?

VARIATIONS.

After ver. 116. in the MS.

Of ev'ry evil, since the world began,
 The real source is not in God, but man.

NOTES.

reader sees, has a peculiar elegance ; where a tribute of piety to a parent is paid in a return of thanks to, and made subservient of his vindication of, the Great Giver and Father of all things. The Mother of the Author, a person of great piety and charity, died the year this poem was finished, viz. 1733.

VER. 121. *Think we, like some weak Prince, &c.*] Agreeable hereunto, holy Scripture, in its account of things under the common Providence of heaven, never represents miracles as wrought for the sake of him who is the object of them, but in order to give credit to some of God's extraordinary dispensations to Mankind.

Shall burning *Ætna*, if a sage requires,
 Forget to thunder, and recall her fires?
 On air or sea new motions be imprest, 125
 Oh blameless Bethel! to relieve thy breast?
 When the loose mountain trembles from on high,
 Shall gravitation cease, if you go by?
 Or some old temple, nodding to its fall,
 For Chartres' head reserve the hanging wall? 130
 But still this world (so fitted for the knave)
 Contents us not. A better shall we have?
 A kingdom of the Just then let it be:
 But first consider how those Just agree.
 The good must merit God's peculiar care; 135
 But who, but God, can tell us who they are?
 One thinks on Calvin Heav'n's own Spirit fell;
 Another deems him instrument of hell;
 If Calvin feel Heav'n's blessing, or its rod,
 This cries there is, and that, there is no God. 140
 What shocks one part will edify the rest,
 Nor with one system can they all be blest.

VARIATIONS.

After ver. 142. in some Editions,

Give each a system, all must be at strife;
 What diff'rent systems for a Man and Wife?

The joke, though lively, was ill-placed; and therefore struck out of the text.

NOTES.

VER. 123. *Shall burning Ætna, &c.*] Alluding to the fate of those two great Naturalists, Empedocles and Pliny,

The very best will variously incline,
 And what rewards your Virtue, punish mine.

25 WHATEVER IS, IS RIGHT.—This world, 'tis true,
 Was made for Cæsar—but for Titus too: 146
 And which more blest? who chain'd his country, say,
 Or he whose Virtue sigh'd to lose a day?

“But sometimes Virtue starves, while Vice is fed.”

30 What then? Is the reward of Virtue bread? 150

That, Vice may merit, 'tis the price of toil;
 The knave deserves it, when he tills the soil,
 The knave deserves it, when he tempts the main,
 Where folly fights for kings, or dives for gain.

35 The good man may be weak, be indolent; 155
 Nor is his claim to plenty, but content.

But grant him Riches, your demand is o'er?

“No—shall the good want Health, the good want
 Pow'r?”

40 Add Health, and Pow'r, and ev'ry earthly thing,

“Why bounded Pow'r? why private? why no king?”

“Nay, why external for internal giv'n? 161

“Why is not Man a God, and Earth a Heav'n?”

Who ask and reason thus, will scarce conceive

God gives enough, while he has more to give:

NOTES.

who both perished by too near an approach to Ætna and Vesuvius, while they were exploring the cause of their eruptions.

Immense the pow'r, immense were the demand; 165
Say, at what part of nature will they stand?

What nothing earthly gives, or can destroy,
The soul's calm sun-shine, and the heart-felt joy,
Is Virtue's prize: A better would you fix,
Then give Humility a coach and fix, 170
Justice a Conqu'ror's sword, or Truth a gown,
Or public Spirit its great cure, a Crown.

Weak, foolish Man! will Heav'n reward us there
With the same trash mad mortals wish for here?

The Boy and Man an individual makes, 175
Yet sigh'st thou now for apples and for cakes?

Go, like the Indian, in another life
Expect thy dog, thy bottle, and thy wife:
As well as dream such trifles are assign'd,
As toys and empires, for a god-like mind. 180

VARIATIONS.

After ver. 172. in the MS.

Say, what rewards this idle world imparts
Or fit for searching heads or honest hearts.

NOTES.

VER. 177. *Go, like the Indian, &c.*] Alluding to the example of the Indian, in Epist. i. ver. 99. which shews, that that example was not given to discredit any rational hopes of future happiness, but only to reprove the folly of separating them from charity: as when

—Zeal, not charity, became the guide,
And hell was built on spite, and heav'n on pride.

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Rewards, that either would to virtue bring
 No joy, or be destructive of the thing :
 How oft by these at sixty are undone
 The Virtues of a faint at twenty-one !
 To whom can Riches give Repute or Trust, 185
 Content, or Pleasure, but the Good and Just ?
 Judges and Senates have been bought for gold,
 Esteem and Love were never to be sold.
 Oh fool ! to think God hates the worthy mind,
 The lover and the love of human kind, 190
 Whose life is healthful, and whose conscience clear,
 Because he wants a thousand pounds a year.
 Honour and shame from no condition rise ;
 Act well your part, there all the honour lies.
 Fortune in Men has some small diff'rence made, 195
 One flaunts in rags, one flutters in brocade ;

NOTES.

VER. 193. *Honour and shame from no condition rise, &c.*]
 What power then has fortune over the Man? None at all.
 For as her favours can confer neither worth nor wisdom ;
 so neither can her displeasure cure him of any of his follies.
 On his Garb indeed she hath some little influence ; but
 his Heart still remains the same.

Fortune in Men has some small diff'rence made,
 One *flaunts* in rags, one *flutters* in brocade.

But this *difference* extends no further than to the habit ;
 the pride of heart is the same, both in the *flaunter* and
 the *flutterer*, as it is the Poet's intention to insinuate by
 the use of those terms.

The cobler apron'd, and the parson gown'd,
 The frier hooded, and the monarch crown'd.
 "What differ more (you cry) than crown and cowl?"
 I'll tell you, friend; a wise man and a fool. 200
 You'll find, if once the monarch acts the monk,
 Or, cobler-like, the parson will be drunk,
 Worth makes the man, and want of it, the fellow;
 The rest is all but leather or prunella. 204
 Stuck o'er with titles, and hung round with strings,
 That thou may'st be by kings, or whores of kings,
 Boast the pure blood of an illustrious race,
 In quiet flow from Lucrece to Lucrece:
 But by your fathers worth if your's you rate,
 Count me those only who were good and great. 210
 Go! if your ancient, but ignoble blood
 Has crept thro' scoundrels ever since the flood,
 Go! and pretend your family is young;
 Nor own, your fathers have been fools so long.

VARIATIONS.

VER. 207. *Boast the pure blood, &c.*] In the MS. thus:

The richest blood, right-honourably old,
 Down from Lucretia to Lucretia roll'd,
 May swell thy heart, and gallop in thy breast,
 Without one dash of usher or of priest:
 Thy pride as much despise all other pride
 As Christ Church once all colleges beside.

EP. IV. ESSAY ON MAN. 101

What can ennoble fots, or slaves, or cowards? 215

Alas! not all the blood of all the HOWARDS.

Look next on Greatness; say where Greatness lies.

“Where, but among the Heroes and the Wife?”

Heroes are much the same, the point's agreed,

From Macedonia's madman to the Swede; 220

The whole strange purpose of their lives, to find

Or make, an enemy of all mankind!

Not one looks backward, onward still he goes,

Yet ne'er looks forward further than his nose.

No less alike the Politic and Wise; 225

All fly slow things, with circumspective eyes:

Men in their loose unguarded hours they take,

Not that themselves are wise, but others weak.

But grant that those can conquer, these can cheat;

'Tis phrase absurd to call a Villain Great: 230

Who wickedly is wise, or madly brave,

Is but the more a fool, the more a knave.

Who noble ends by noble means obtains,

Or failing, smiles in exile or in chains,

Like good Aurelius let him reign, or bleed 235

Like Socrates, that Man is great indeed.

What's Fame? a fancy'd life in others breath,

A thing beyond us, ev'n before our death.

Just what you hear, you have, and what's unknown

The same (my Lord) if Tully's, or your own. 240

All that we feel of it begins and ends
 In the small circle of our foes or friends ;
 To all beside as much an empty shade
 An Eugene living, as a Cæsar dead ;
 Alike or when, or where, they shone, or shine, 245
 Or on the Rubicon, or on the Rhine,
 A Wit's a feather, and a Chief a rod ;
 An honest Man's the noblest work of God.
 Fame but from death a villain's name can save,
 As Justice tears his body from the grave ; 250
 When what t' obliuion better were resign'd,
 Is hung on high, to poison half mankind.
 All fame is foreign, but of true desert ;
 Plays round the head, but comes not to the heart :
 One self-approving hour whole years outweighs 255
 Of stupid starers, and of loud huzzas ;
 And more true joy Marcellus exil'd feels,
 Than Cæsar with a Senate at his heels.

In Parts superior what advantage lies ?

Tell (for You can) what is it to be wise ? 260
 'Tis but to know how little can be known ;
 To see all others faults, and feel our own :
 Condemn'd in bus'ness or in arts to drudge,
 Without a second, or without a judge :
 Truths would you teach, or save a sinking land ? 265
 All fear, none aid you, and few understand.

Painful Preheminence ! yourself to view
Above life's weakness, and its comforts too.

Bring then these blessings to a strict account ;
Make fair deductions ; see to what they mount : 270
How much of other each is sure to cost ;
How each for other oft is wholly lost ;
How inconsistent greater goods with these ;
How sometimes life is risqu'd, and always ease :
Think, and if still the things thy envy call, 275
Say, wouldst thou be the man to whom they fall ?
To sigh for ribbands if thou art so silly,
Mark how they grace Lord Umbra, or Sir Billy.

NOTES.

VER. 267. *Painful Prebeminence, &c.*] The most plausible rival of Virtue is knowledge gained by *superior parts*: yet even this is so far from giving any degree of real Happiness, that it deprives man of those common comforts of life, which are a kind of support to us under the want of Happiness. Such as the more innocent of those delusions which he speaks of in the second Epistle.

Those painted clouds that beautify our days, &c.

Now Knowledge destroyeth all those comforts by setting man above Life's weaknesses: So that he who has discarded Virtue, and thinks to attain Happiness by Knowledge alone, reverses the fable; and in a preposterous attempt to gain the substance, loseth even the shadow. This I take to be the sense of this fine stroke of satire; and the truth conveyed under it the author had seen exemplified.

Is yellow dirt the passion of thy life?
 Look but on Gripus, or on Gripus' wife. 280
 If Parts allure thee, think how Bacon shin'd,
 The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind:
 Or ravish'd with the whistling of a Name,
 See Cromwell, damn'd to everlasting fame!

NOTES.

VER. 281, 283. *If Parts allure thee,—Or ravish'd with the whistling of a Name,*] These two instances are chosen with great judgment: the world, perhaps, doth not afford two such other. Bacon discovered and laid down those principles, by whose assistance Newton was enabled to unfold the whole law of Nature. He was no less eminent for the creative power of his imagination, the brightness of his conceptions, and the force of his expression: Yet being legally convicted of bribery and corruption in the administration of Justice, while he presided in the supreme Court of Equity, he endeavoured to repair his ruined fortunes by the most profligate flattery to the Court: Which, from his very first entrance into it, he had accustomed himself to practise, with a prostitution that disgraceth the very profession of letters.

Cromwell seemeth to be distinguished in the most eminent manner, with regard to his abilities, from all other great and wicked men, who have overturned the Liberties of their Country. The times, in which others have succeeded in this attempt, were such as saw the spirit of Liberty suppressed and stifled by a general luxury and venality: But Cromwell subdued his country, when this spirit was at its height, by a successful struggle against Court-oppression; and while it was conducted and supported by a set of the greatest Geniuses for Government the world ever saw embarked together in one common cause.

VER. 283. *Or ravish'd with the whistling of a Name,*]

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EP. IV. ESSAY ON MAN. 105

If all, united, thy ambition call, 285

From ancient story learn to scorn them all.

There, in the rich, the honour'd, fam'd, and great,
See the false scale of happiness complete!

In hearts of Kings, or arms of Queens who lay,
How happy those to ruin, these betray! 290

Mark by what wretched steps their glory grows,
From dirt and sea-weed as proud Venice rose.

In each how guilt and greatness equal ran,
And all that rais'd the Hero, sunk the Man:

Now Europe's laurels on their brows behold, 295

But stain'd with blood, or ill-exchang'd for gold:

Then see them broke with toils, or sunk in ease,

Or infamous for plunder'd provinces.

Oh wealth ill-fated! which no act of fame

E'er taught to shine, or sanctified from shame! 300

NOTES.

And even this fantastick Glory sometimes suffers a terrible reverse. — *Sacheverell*, in his *Voyage to Icolumbkill*, describing the church there, tells us, that “ In one corner is a peculiar Inclosure, in which were the monuments of the Kings of many different nations, as Scotland, Ireland, Norway, and the *Isle of Man*. THIS (said the person who shewed me the place, pointing to a plain stone) was the monument of the Great TEAGUE, king of Ireland. I had never heard of him, and could not but reflect of how little value is *Greatness*, that has barely left a name scandalous to a nation, and a grave, which the meanest of Mankind would never envy.”

What greater bliss attends their close of life?
 Some greedy minion, or imperious wife,
 The trophy'd arches, story'd halls invade,
 And haunt their slumbers in the pompous shade.
 Alas! not dazzled with their noon-tide ray, 305
 Compute the morn and ev'ning to the day;
 The whole amount of that enormous fame,
 A Tale, that blends their glory with their shame!
 Know then this truth (enough for man to know)
 "Virtue alone is Happiness below." 310
 The only point where human bliss stands still,
 And tastes the good without the fall to ill;
 Where only Merit constant pay receives,
 Is blest in what it takes, and what it gives;
 The joy unequal'd, if its end it gain, 315
 And if it lose, attended with no pain:

VARIATIONS.

After ver. 316. in the MS.

Ev'n while it seems unequal to dispose,
 And chequers all the good Man's joys with woes,
 'Tis but to teach him to support each state,
 With patience this, with moderation that:

NOTES.

VER. 311. *The only point where human bliss stands still,*
&c.] Hitherto the Poet had proved, **NEGATIVELY**, that
 Happiness consists in Virtue, by shewing it consisted not in
 any other thing. He now proves the same **POSITIVELY**,

EP. IV.

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Without satiety, tho' e'er so blest'd,
 And but more relish'd as the more distress'd :
 The broadest mirth unfeeling folly wears,
 Less pleasing far than Virtue's very tears : 320
 Good, from each object, from each place acquir'd,
 For ever exercis'd, yet never tir'd ;
 Never elated, while one man's oppress'd ;
 Never dejected, while another's blest'd ;
 And where no wants, no wishes can remain, 325
 Since but to wish more Virtue, is to gain.
 See the sole bliss Heav'n could on all bestow !
 Which who but feels can taste, but thinks can know :
 Yet poor with fortune, and with learning blind,
 The bad must miss ; the good, untaught, will
 find ; 330

VARIATIONS.

And raise his base on that one solid joy,
 Which conscience gives, and nothing can destroy.

These lines are extremely finished. In which there is such a soothing sweetness in the melancholy harmony of the versification, as if the Poet was then in that tender office in which he was most officious, and in which all his soul came out, the condoling with some good man in affliction.

NOTES.

by an enumeration of its Qualities, all naturally adapted to give and to increase human Happiness ; as its Constancy, Capacity, Vigour, Efficacy, Activity, Moderation, and Self-sufficiency.

VER. 329. *Yet poor with fortune, &c*] The Poet here observeth, with some indignation, that as obvious and as evi-

Slave to no sect, who takes no private road,
 But looks thro' Nature, up to Nature's God ;
 Pursues that Chain which links th' immense design,
 Joins heav'n and earth, and mortal and divine ;
 Sees, that no Being any blifs can know, 335
 But touches some above, and some below ;
 Learns, from this union of the rising Whole,
 The first, last purpose of the human soul ;
 And knows where Faith, Law, Morals, all began,
 All end, in LOVE OF GOD, and LOVE OF MAN. 340
 For him alone, Hope leads from goal to goal,
 And opens still, and opens on his soul ;

NOTES.

dent as this truth was, yet *Riches* and *false Philosophy* had so blinded the discernment even of improved minds, that the possessors of the first placed Happiness in *Externals*, unsuitable to Man's *Nature* ; and the followers of the latter, in *refined Visions*, unsuitable to his *Situation* ; while the simple-minded man, with NATURE only for his guide, found plainly in what it should be placed.

VER. 341. *For him alone, Hope leads from goal to goal.*] But this is not all ; when the simple-minded man, on his first setting out in the pursuit of Truth, in order to Happiness, hath had the wisdom,

To look thro' Nature up to Nature's God ;
 (instead of adhering to any sect or party where there was so great odds of his chusing wrong) that then the benefit of gaining the knowledge of God's will, *written in the mind*, is not confined there ; for standing on this sure foundation, he is now no longer in danger of chusing wrong, amidst such diversities of Religions ; but by pur-

EP. IV.

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Till lengthen'd on to FAITH, and unconfin'd,
It pours the blifs that fills up all the mind.

NOTES.

suing this grand scheme of UNIVERSAL BENEVOLENCE in practice as well as theory, he arrives at length to the knowledge of the REVEALED will of God, which is the consummation of the system of benevolence :

For him alone, Hope leads from goal to goal,
And opens still, and opens on his soul,
Till lengthen'd on to Faith, and unconfin'd,
It pours the blifs that fills up all the mind.

VER. 341. *For him alone Hope leads from goal to goal, &c.*] PLATO, in his first book of a Republic, hath a remarkable passage to this purpose: " He whose conscience does not reproach him, has chearful *Hope* for his companion, and the support and comfort of his old age, according to Pindar: For this great Poet, O Socrates, very elegantly says, That he who leads a just and holy life has always amiable *Hope* for his companion, which fills his heart with joy, and is the support and comfort of his old age. *Hope*, the most powerful of the Divinities, in governing the ever-changing and inconstant temper of mortal men." Τῷ δὲ μηδὲν ἐαυτῷ ἄδικον ζυειδῶσι ἠδεῖα ἔλπις αἰεὶ πάρεσι, καὶ ἀγαθὴ γηροτρόφος, ὡς καὶ Πίνδαρος λέγει. Χαριέντως γάρ τοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὰ ἐκεῖν' εἶπεν, ὅτι ὅς ἂν δικαίως καὶ ὁσίως τὸν βίον διαγάγη, γλυκεῖά οἱ καρδίαν ἀτάλλασσα γηροτρόφος συναορεῖ ἔλπις, ἃ μάλιστα θνατῶν πολύτροφον γνώμαν κυβερᾷ. In the same manner Euripides speaks in his *Hercules furens*,

Οὗτος δ' ἀνὴρ ἀρεῖς, ὅστις ἐλπίσιν
Πέποιθεν αἰεὶ τὸ δ' ἀπορεῖν, ἀνδρὸς κακῶ. ver. 105.

" He is the good man in whose breast *Hope* springs eternally: But to be without *Hope* in the world is the portion of the wicked."

He sees, why Nature plants in Man alone 345
 Hope of known blifs, and Faith in blifs unknown:
 (Nature, whose dictates to no other kind
 Are giv'n in vain, but what they seek they find)
 Wife is her present; she connects in this
 His greatest Virtue with his greatest Blifs; 350
 At once his own bright prospect to be blest,
 And strongest motive to assist the rest.

Self-love thus push'd to social, to divine,
 Gives thee to make thy neighbour's blessing thine.

NOTES.

VER. 353. *Self-love thus push'd to social, &c.*] The Poet here marks out the Progress of his good man's Benevolence, pushed through natural religion to revealed, 'till it arrives to that height which the sacred writers describe as the very summit of Christian perfection; and shews how the progress of *human* differs from the progress of *divine* benevolence. That the divine descends from *whole* to *parts*; but that the human must rise from *individual* to *universal*. His argument for this extended benevolence is, that, as God has made a Whole, whose parts have a perfect relation to, and an entire dependency on each other, Man, by extending his benevolence throughout that Whole, acts in conformity to the will of his Creator; and therefore this enlargement of his affection becomes a duty. But the Poet hath not only shewn his piety in this observation, but the utmost art and address likewise in the disposition of it. The *Essay on Man* opens with exposing the murmurs and impious conclusions of foolish men against the present constitution of things; as it proceeds, it occasionally detects all those false principles and opinions which led them to conclude thus perversely. Having

EP. IV. ESSAY ON MAN.

III

Is this too little for the boundless heart?

355

Extend it, let thy enemies have part :

Grasp the whole worlds of Reason, Life, and Sense,

In one close system of Benevolence :

NOTES.

now done all that was necessary in Speculation, the author turns to Practice; and ends his Essay with the recommendation of an acknowledged virtue, CHARITY; which, if exercised in the *Extent* that conformity to the will of God requireth, would effectually prevent all complaints against the present order of things; such complaints being made with a total disregard to every thing but their *own private system*, and seeking remedy in the disorder, and at the expence of all the rest. This observation,

Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to wake,

is important; Rochefaucault, Esprit, and their wordy disciple Mandeville, had observed, that Self-love was the Origin of all those virtues Mankind most admire; and therefore foolishly supposed it was the End likewise; and so taught, that the highest pretences to disinterestedness were only the more artful disguises of Self-love. But our author, who says somewhere or other,

Of human Nature, Wit its worst may write,

We all revere it in our own despite, MS.

saw, as well as they and every body else, that the Passions began in Self-love; yet he understood human Nature better than to imagine they terminated there. He knew, that Reason and Religion could convert Selfishness into its very opposite; and therefore teacheth, that

Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to wake :

And thus hath vindicated the dignity of human Nature, and the philosophic truth of the Christian doctrine.

Happier as kinder, in whate'er degree,
And height of Blifs but height of Charity. 360

God loves from Whole to Parts : but human soul
Must rise from Individual to the Whole.

Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to wake,
As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake ;

The centre mov'd, a circle straight succeeds, 365
Another still, and still another spreads ;

Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will embrace ;
His country next ; and next all human race ;

Wide and more wide, th' o'erflowings of the mind
Take ev'ry creature in, of ev'ry kind ; 370

Earth smiles around, with boundless bounty blest,
And Heav'n beholds its image in his breast.

Come then, my Friend ! my Genius ! come along ;
Oh master of the poet, and the song !

VARIATIONS.

VER. 373. *Come then, my Friend ! &c.*] In the MS. thus,

And now transported o'er so vast a plain,
While the wing'd courser flies with all her rein,
While heav'n-ward now her mounting wing she feels,
Now scatter'd fools fly trembling from her heels,
Wilt thou, my St. John ! keep her course in sight,
Confine her fury, and assist her flight ?

NOTES.

VER. 373. *Come then, my Friend ! &c.*] This noble Apoprophe, by which the Poet concludes the Essay in an ad-

And while the Muse now stoops, or now ascends, 375
To man's low passions, or their glorious ends,

NOTES.

dress to his friend, will furnish a Critic with examples of every one of those *five* Species of Elocution, from which, as from its Sources, Longinus deduceth the *SUBLIME*^a.

1. The first and chief is a *Grandeur and Sublimity of Conception*.

Come then, my Friend! my Genius! come along;
O Master of the Poet, and the Song!

And while the Muse now stoops, or now ascends,
To man's low passions, or their glorious ends.

2. The *second*, that *pathetic Enthusiasm*, which, at the same time, melts and inflames:

Teach me, like thee, in various nature wise,

To fall with dignity, with temper rise;

Form'd by thy converse, happily to steer

From grave to gay, from lively to severe;

Correct with spirit, eloquent with ease,

Intent to reason, or polite to please.

3. A certain elegant Formation and Ordonance of Figures:

Oh! while along the stream of Time thy name

Expanded flies, and gathers all its fame,

Say, shall my little bark attendant fail,

Pursue the triumph, and partake the gale?

4. A splendid Diction:

When statesmen, heroes, kings, in dust repose,

Whose sons shall blush their fathers were thy foes,

^a ——— πέντε πηγαί τιές εἰσι τῆς ὑψηλοῦς. 1. Πρῶτον μὲν ἐκράτιστον τὸ περὶ τὰς νοήσεις ἀδρεπὴ ὅλον. 2. Δεύτερον δὲ τὸ σφοδρὸν καὶ ἐνθεσιατικὸν πάθος. 3. Ποιὰ τῶν σχημάτων πλάσις. 4. Ἡ γενναῖα φράσις. 5. Πέμπτη δὲ μεγέθους αἰτία, καὶ συζητήσασα τὰ πρὸς αὐτῆς ἀπαντα, ἢ ἐν ἀξιομακίᾳ καὶ διάπτει σύνθεσις.

Teach me, like thee, in various nature wise,
 To fall with dignity, with temper rise;
 Form'd by thy converse, happily to steer
 From grave to gay, from lively to severe; 380
 Correct with spirit, eloquent with ease,
 Intent to reason, or polite to please.
 Oh! while along the stream of Time thy Name
 Expanded flies, and gathers all its fame;
 Say, shall my little bark attendant sail, 385
 Pursue the triumph, and partake the gale?
 When statesmen, heroes, kings, in dust repose,
 Whose sons shall blush their fathers were thy foes,
 Shall then this verse to future age pretend
 Thou wert my guide, philosopher, and friend? 390
 That urg'd by thee, I turn'd the tuneful art
 From sounds to things, from fancy to the heart;

NOTES.

Shall then this verse to future age pretend
 Thou wert my guide, philosopher, and friend?
 That, urg'd by thee, I turn'd the tuneful art
 From sounds to things, from fancy to the heart;
 For Wit's false mirror held up Nature's light;

5. And, *5thly*, which includes in itself all the rest, a
 Weight and Dignity in the Composition:

Shew'd erring Pride, whatever *is*, is RIGHT;
 That REASON, PASSION, answer one great AIM;
 That true SELF-LOVE and SOCIAL are the SAME;
 That VIRTUE only makes our BLISS below;
 And all our Knowledge is, OURSELVES TO KNOW.

For Wit's false mirror held up Nature's light ;
 Shew'd erring Pride, **WHATEVER IS, IS RIGHT** ;
 That **REASON, PASSION**, answer one great aim ; 395
 That true **SELF-LOVE** and **SOCIAL** are the same ;
 That **VIRTUE** only makes our Bliss below ;
 And all our Knowledge is, **OURSELVES TO KNOW**.

VARIATIONS.

VER. 397. *That Virtue only, &c.*] In the MS. thus,
 That just to find a God is all we can,
 And all the study of Mankind is Man.

NOTES.

VER. 394. *Shew'd erring Pride, Whatever is, is Right ;*] The Poet's address to his Friend, which concludeth this Epistle so nobly, and endeth with a recapitulation of the general argument, affords me the following observation, with which I shall conclude these remarks. There is one great beauty that shines through the whole *Essay*: The Poet, whether he speaks of Man as an Individual, a Member of Society, or the Subject of Happiness, never misseth an opportunity, while he is explaining his state under any of these capacities, to illustrate it in the most artful manner by the inforcement of his grand Principle: **THAT EVERY THING TENDETH TO THE GOOD OF THE WHOLE**; from whence his system receives the reciprocal advantage of having that grand Theorem realized by facts, and his facts justified on a principle of Right or Nature.

Alfred Smith

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Universal Prayer.

D E O O P T. M A X.

FATHER of All! in ev'ry Age,
 In ev'ry Clime ador'd,
 By Saint, by Savage, and by Sage,
 Jehovah, Jove, or Lord!

Thou Great First Cause, least understood;
 Who all my Sense confin'd
 To know but this, that Thou art Good,
 And that myself am blind;

C O M M E N T A R Y.

Universal Prayer.] It may be proper to observe, that some passages, in the preceding *Essay*, having been unjustly suspected of a tendency towards Fate and *Naturalism*, the Author compos'd this Prayer, as the sum of all, to shew that this system was founded in *free-will*, and terminated in piety: That the first Cause was as well the Lord and Governor of the Universe, as the Creator of it; and that, by submission to his will (the great principle inforced throughout the *Essay*) was not meant the suffering ourselves to be carried along by a blind determination; but the rest-

Yet gave me, in this dark Estate,
 To see the Good from Ill;
 And binding Nature fast in Fate,
 Left free the human Will.

What Conscience dictates to be done,
 Or warns me not to do,
 This, teach me more than hell to shun,
 That, more than heav'n pursue.

What Blessings thy free Bounty gives,
 Let me not cast away;
 For God is paid when Man receives,
 T' enjoy is to obey.

Yet not to Earth's contracted Span
 Thy Goodness let me bound,
 Or think Thee Lord alone of Man,
 When thousand Worlds are round:

Let not this weak, unknowing hand
 Presume thy bolts to throw,
 And deal damnation round the land,
 On each I judge thy Foe.

ing in a religious acquiescence, and confidence full of *Hope*
 and *Immortality*. To give all this the greater weight, the
 Poet chose for his model the LORD'S Prayer, which, of
 all others, best deserves the title prefixed to his Paraphrase.

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If I am right, thy grace impart,
 Still in the right to stay;
 If I am wrong, oh teach my heart
 To find that better way.

Save me alike from foolish Pride,
 Or impious Discontent,
 At aught thy Wisdom has deny'd,
 Or aught thy Goodness lent.

Teach me to feel another's Woe,
 To hide the Fault I see;
 That Mercy I to others show,
 That Mercy show to me.

Mear tho' I am, not wholly so,
 Since quick'ned by thy breath:
 Oh lead me wherefoe'er I go,
 Thro' this day's Life or Death.

NOTES.

*If I am right, thy grace impart,—
 If I am wrong, Oh teach my heart]*

As the *imparting grace*, on the christian system, is a stronger exertion of the divine power, than the natural illumination of the heart, one would expect that *right* and *wrong* should change places; more aid being required to restore men to the *right*, than to keep them in it. But as it was the Poet's purpose to insinuate, that Revelation was the *right*, nothing could better express his purpose, than the making the *right* secured by the guards of *grace*.

122 UNIVERSAL PRAYER.

This day, be Bread and Peace my Lot;
All else beneath the Sun,
Thou know'st if best bestow'd or not,
And let Thy Will be done.

To Thee, whose Temple is all Space,
Whose Altar, Earth, Sea, Skies!
One Chorus let all Being raise!
All Nature's Incense rise!

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The DYING CHRISTIAN

To his SOUL;

ODE^b.

I.

VITAL spark of heav'nly flame,
 Quit, oh quit this mortal frame :
 Trembling, hoping, ling'ring, flying,
 Oh the pain, the bliss of dying !
 Cease, fond Nature, cease thy strife,
 And let me languish into life.

II.

Hark ! they whisper ; Angels say,
 Sister Spirit, come away.
 What is this absorbs me quite ?
 Steals my senses, shuts my sight,
 Drowns my spirits, draws my breath ?
 Tell me, my Soul, can this be Death ?

NOTES.

^b This Ode was written in imitation of the famous sonnet of Hadrian to his departing soul ; but as much superior to his original, in sense and sublimity, as the *Christian* Religion is to the *Pagan*.

[124]

III.

The world recedes ; it disappears !
Heaven opens on my eyes ! my ears
With sounds seraphic ring :
Lend, lend your wings ! I mount ! I fly !
O Grave ! where is thy Victory ?
O Death ! where is thy Sting ?

F I N I S.



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& goods & things -

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60 - Summary.

65 - the one-sidedness of
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18 Essay on Man.

Why has not man a micro-
scopic eye? In this pla-
ce ^{man} is not a fly.

. See 21 - Essay on Man.

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31

Leafless. Skin rough

Mr. J. J. J. J.

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17th - Passage - a page 6th 5

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